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ARCHAEOLOGIA:  
OR  
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS  
RELATING TO  
ANTIQUITY.  
PUBLISHED BY THE  
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VOLUME XVIII.



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*Direction to the Book-binder.*

The Title Page, with the Table of Contents and List of Plates, to Part I. of Vol. XVIII. are to be cancelled.





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*At a Council of the Society of Antiquaries, May 31, 1782.*

RESOLVED,

THAT any Gentleman, desirous to have separate Copies of any Memoir he may have presented to the Society, may be allowed, upon application to the Council, to have a certain number, not exceeding Twenty, printed off at his own expense.

*At a Council of the Society of Antiquaries, May 23, 1792.*

RESOLVED,

THAT the Order made the 31st of May, 1782, with respect to Gentlemen who may be desirous to have separate Copies of any Memoir they may have presented to the Society, be printed in the volumes of the Archaeologia, in some proper and conspicuous part, for the better communication of the same to the Members at large.

*At a Council of the Society of Antiquaries, May 12, 1815.*

ORDERED,

THAT, in future, any Gentleman desirous to have separate Copies of any Paper he may have presented to the Society, which shall be printed in the Archaeologia, or Vetusta Monumenta, shall be allowed, on application in writing to the Secretary, to receive a number not exceeding Twenty Copies, (free of all expense,) of such Paper, as soon as it is printed.



ARCHAEOLOGIA;  
OR,  
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,  
&c.

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*A Description of a large Collection of Pennies of Henry II.  
discovered at Tealby, in Lincolnshire. By TAYLOR COMBE,  
Esq. Director. Sec. R. S.*

Read 24th February, 1814.

A VERY considerable number of English Silver Pennies having been lately found in Lincolnshire, it may not be uninteresting to the Society of Antiquaries to receive a short account of them. The whole collection consisted of more than 5700 coins, which were all of the same type, namely, that usually attributed to Henry II.

Obverse—The king's head, full faced, and crowned; a sceptre with a cross patee is held in the right hand, and the crown is ornamented with fleur-de-lis.

Reverse—A cross potent, with rays issuing from the centre, and a small cross of the same kind in each quarter.

They were found in the year 1807 by the side of a road which crossed a ploughed field at Tealby, near Rasen, in the north of Lincolnshire. They fortunately came into the possession of — Tenison, Esq. by whom they were forwarded to the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, who caused them to undergo the most minute examination.

The best specimens of all the varieties of towns and mint-masters were selected for the collections of Mrs. Banks, the British Museum, and also of a few private individuals; the rest, to the number of 5127, were melted at the Tower.

The chief advantage to be derived from the discovery of these



coins is, first, the great probability they afford that they were struck in the reign of Henry II. ; and, secondly, the additional information they supply, with respect to the number of places in which mints were established under that king.

The circumstance of so great a number of coins being discovered together, all of them having the same type, though minted in towns situated at a great distance from each other, is a proof that the whole were struck by the same king, and that the king, whoever he was, used only one device upon his coins. As the pennies of Henry III. are sufficiently known, it is evident that these coins must belong either to Henry I. or II. If we were to assign the present coins to Henry I., it would follow that all the other coins which have been usually appropriated to that king, and which are distinguished by the diversity of their types, must have been struck by Henry II., which is not at all probable. Henry I. was much more likely to have struck coins with different types than Henry II. He reigned after William II. and before Stephen; and the coins of William II. and Stephen, as well as those of William the Conqueror, are remarkable for a great variety of types. It is nearly certain, therefore, that these coins were struck in the reign of Henry II., who, differing in this respect from his predecessors, determined to have only one pattern represented on his coins, in which particular usage he was followed, with very few exceptions, by his successors.

The greatest number of Pennies of Henry II. which have been hitherto published, are those engraved in Withy and Ryall's Plates of English Silver Coins, in 1756. They were found on Bramham Moor, near Leeds, and were minted at the following towns :

Canterbury,	Lincoln,	St. Edmundsbury,
Cardiff,	London,	Stamford,
Gloucester,	Newcastle,	Winchester,
Ipswich,	Norwich,	York.

To this list, which includes twelve towns, no additions have been since made in any medallie work. The present discovery, however, not only presents us with the names of the above towns, but has added seventeen other towns to the number, namely,

Bristol,	Ilchester,	Salisbury,
Chester,	Lancaster,	Thetford,
Colchester,	Leicester,	Wainfleet,
Durham,	Newark,	Wallingford,
Exeter,	Northampton,	and
Hereford,	Oxford,	Wilton.

The whole number consists of twenty-nine towns, of which twelve have been already published; seven others were known to exist in private collections, though not published; and ten are now added to the list for the first time.

The following is a copy of the legends which occur on the reverses of the coins, arranged in the alphabetical order of the towns in which they were respectively minted.

*Bristol.*

ELAF . ON . BRISTO.  
RICARD . ON . BR. . .  
<sup>a</sup>RICARD . ON . BRIS.  
T. . . . D . ON . BRI

WILLELM . ON . CA.  
WIVLF . ON . CAN.  
WIVLF . ON . CANTO.  
WIVLF . ON . CATO.

*Cardiff.*

WILLEM . ON . CARD.  
WILLEM . <sup>ON</sup> . <sup>CARDV</sup>.  
WILLELM . ON . CAR.

*Canterbury.*

GOLDHAVC . ON . CA.  
GOLDHAVOC . ON . CAN.  
GOLD<sup>H</sup>AVOC . ON . CA.  
GOLDHAVCE . ON . IA. (a blunder for CA.)  
RICARD . ON . CAN.  
RICARD . ON . CANT.  
RICARD . <sup>ON</sup> . CANTO  
<sup>RICARD</sup> . M . ON . CAN.  
<sup>RICARD</sup> . ON . M . CAN. (a blunder for  
[M . ON .])  
<sup>RICARD</sup> . MC . ON . AN. (a blunder for  
[M . ON . CAN .])  
<sup>RICARD</sup> . MI . ON . CAN.  
ROGIER . ON . CAN.  
ROGIER . ON . CANT.  
ROGIER . <sup>ON</sup> . CANTO.

*Chester.*

ANDR . . ON . CEST.  
..... ON . CES.

*Colchester.*

ALWIN . ON . COLE<sup>E</sup>  
ALWIN . ON . COLEC.  
RIC . . . ON . COLE.  
P . . . ON . COL.

*Durham.*

<sup>IOHAN</sup> . ON . DVNHE.  
WALTIER . <sup>ON</sup> . DVN.  
WALTIER<sup>R</sup> . ON . DVN..

<sup>a</sup> The Red letters in this list represent those parts of the legend which have not received the impression of the die, and have been supplied by conjecture.

*Description of a large Collection of Pennies of Henry II.**Exeter.*

EDW . . ON . EXCES.  
 GVNCELIN . ON . EXC.  
 GVNCELIN . ON . EXCS.  
 GVNCELIN . ON . EXCE.  
 RICARD . ON . EXCES.  
 RICARD . ON . EXSE.  
 . . . . . ON . XSE.  
 ROGIER . ON . EXCES.

*Gloucester.*

RADVLF . ON . GLOE.  
 ROBERT . ON . GLOE.  
 SA . . . . ON . GLOECE.  
 SA . . . . ON . GLOECES.

*Hereford.*

S . . . . ON . HEREF.  
 STE . . . ON . HERFOR.

*Ilchester.*

RICARD . ON . IVE.  
 RO . . . . ON . IVELCE.  
 . . . . . ON . IVEL.

*Ipswich.*

NICOL . ON . GIPEV.  
 NICOLE . ON . GIPES.  
 ROBERT . ON . GIP.  
 ROBERT . ON . GIPE.  
 RODBERD . ON . GIP.  
 RODBERD . ON . GIPE.  
 RODBERD . ON . GI.  
 TVRSTAIN . ON . GI.  
 TVRSTAIN . ON . GIP.

*Lancaster.*

W . . . . . LANST.

*Leicester.*

RICARD . ON . LERC.  
 ROBERT . ON . LERC.  
 RODBERT . ON . LERE.

*Lincoln.*

GODRIC . ON . LINC.  
 GOTHA . ON . LINCO.  
 LAFRAM . ON . LI.  
 LAFRAM . ON . LIN.  
 LAFRAM . ON . LINCO.  
 RAVEN . ON . LINCO.  
 RAVEN . ON . LINCOL.  
 SVEIN . ON . LINCOL.  
 . . . HAM . ON . LIN.

*London.*

ALWI . . . ON . LVNDE  
 ALWIN . ON . LVND.  
 ALPINE . ON . LV.  
 ALWINE . ON . LVN.  
 ALWINE . ON . LVND.  
 DE . . . . ON . LVNDENE.  
 EDMVND . ON . LVN.  
 EDMVND . ON . LVND.  
 GEFF . . . ON . LVN.  
 GODEFREI . ON . LVN.  
 GODEFREI . ON . LVN.  
 GODEFREI . ON . L.  
 GODEFEI . ON . LVNDEN.  
 GODEFFI . ON . LVND.  
 HVMF . . ON . LVN.  
 IOHAN . ON . LVN.  
 IOHAN . ON . LVND.  
 IOHAN . ON . LVNDEN.  
 LEFWINE . ON . LVN.  
 LIWINE . ON . LVN.  
 MARTIN . ON . LVN.  
 MARTIN . ON . LVND.  
 RICARD . ON . LVN.



RICARD . ON . LVNDE.  
RODBERT . ON . LVN.  
SPETMAN . ON . LV.  
SPETMAN . ON . LVN.  
SWETMAN . ON . LVN.  
PERES . ON . LVND.  
PIRES . ON . LVND.  
PIRES . ON . LVNDE.  
PIRES . SAL . ON . LVN.  
. . ES . ON . S . LV.  
PIERES . M . ON . LVN.  
PIERES . ON . LVN.  
PIERES . ON . LVNDE.  
WID . ON . LVNDEN.  
WIT . ON . LVNDEN.

*Newark.*

WILLAM . ON . NE.

*Newcastle.*

WILLEM . ON . NIVC.  
WILLEM . ON . NIVCA.  
WILLELM . ON . NIVCA.

*Northampton.*

EII . . ND . ON . NORHA.  
INGERAS . ON . NORAM.  
RE . . . ON . NORHA.  
PIRES . ON . NORHA.  
. . . . . ON . NOHA.

*Norwich.*

AGELHAN . ON . NORW.  
GILEBERT . ON . NOR.  
GILEBERT . ON . NORW.  
HERBERT . ON . NORVI.  
HERBERT . ON . NORWI.  
HEREBERT . ON . NOR.  
HWE . ON . NOREWIC.  
HW . ON . NORWI.  
NIC . . ON . NORW.

REIN . . . ON . NOR.  
RICARD . ON . NOREV.  
RICARD . ON . NOREC.  
PICOT . ON . NOR.  
PICOT . ON . NORWI.  
PICOT . ON . NOREV.  
WILELM . ON . NO.  
WILLELM . ON . NORW.

*Oxford.*

ADAM . ON . OXENE.  
ADAM . ON . OXENFO.  
ASC . . . ON . OXEN.  
ROGIER . ON . OXENF.

*St. Edmundsbury.*

HENRI . ON . S . EDM.  
HENRI . ON . S . EDMV.  
RAVL . S . ED.  
RAVL . ON . S . EDM.  
ROVLF . ON . S . EDM.  
WILLAM . S . EDMVN.  
PILLAM . S . EDMVN.  
WILLEM . ON . SC . ED.  
WILLEM . SC . ON . ED. (a blunder for  
ON . SC . ED.)  
WILLELM . ON . S . EDM.

*Salisbury.*

DANIEL . ON . SAL.  
DANIEL . ON . SALE.  
LEVRIC . ON . SALEB.

*Stamford.*

COLBRAND . ON . STAF.  
WILLEM . ON . STA.

*Thetford.*

SIWATE . ON . TED.  
SIWATE . ON . TEFFO.  
SIWAT . ON . TIEF.

TVRSTAIN . ON . TC.

TVRSTAIN . ON . TE.

TVRSTEIN . ON . TE.

TVRSTEIN . ON . TEF.

TVRSTEIN . ON . TEFF.

TVRST . IN . ON . TI.

WILLAM . ON . TE.

WILLAM . ON . TEFO.

WILLEM . ON . TETFO.

WILLELM . ON . TEF.

*Winchester.*

HERBERT . ON . WI.

HERBERT . ON . WIN.

HERBERT . ON . WINC.

HERBERT . ON . WINCS.

RICARD . ON . WIN.

RICARD . ON . WINCS.

RICARD . ON . WINCE.

RICARD . ON . WINCEST.

. . . . SHERT . ON . WIN.

*Wainflect.*

WALTIER . ON . WAIN.

*Wallingford.*

FVLCH . ON . VALI.

. . . . . ON . WALI.

*Wilton.*

ASCHETIL . ON . WILT.

LANTIER . ON . WILTV.

WILLEM . ON . VILT.

*York.*

GODWIN . ON . EVERW.

HERBERT . ON . EVER.

HERBERD . ON . EVE.

IORDAN . ON . EVERWI.

LVD . . . ON . EVEWI.

WVLESI . ON . EVERWI.

. . . IFFI . ON . EVEWIC.

*Uncertain.*

NICOLE . ON . WIW.

ROBERT . ON . WIW.

The above list, which shews the names of the officers who were employed in the different mints, likewise shews the very unsettled state of the orthography of that time, both in the names of persons and places. In the coins of Canterbury, the name of the same person is written GOLDHAVC, GOLDHAVOC, and GOLDHAVCE; in those of London, we find WERES, WIRES, and WIERES; in those of St. Edmundsbury, WILLAM, WILLEM, and WILLELM; and in those of Thetford, TVRSTAIN and TVRSTEIN. Ipswich is expressed by GIPES and GIPEV; Northampton, by NOHA, NORHA, and NORAM; Norwich, by NORWI and NOREWIC; and Oxford, by OXENE and OXENFO. But this remark is not peculiar to the coins of Henry II. it may be applied with equal truth to all the early pennies of this country, as well before as after the Conquest.

The coins were as fresh as when they were first issued from the



mint, yet their execution was so very bad, that on many of them scarcely two letters could be discerned. The workmanship of these coins can, indeed, confer no credit on the state of the arts in the time of Henry II; yet it is deserving of attention, that the weights of them, though apparently regulated by a pair of shears, were adjusted with extraordinary accuracy. As few opportunities, if any, have been offered of making experiments on the weights of such a considerable number of ancient English pennies belonging to one king, I shall close my account of these coins by a statement of the following facts with regard to their weights, for which I am indebted to the kind assistance of the officers of his Majesty's mint.

50 pieces were weighed separately, and found to be 22 grains each.

100 were weighed against 100, the difference was 6 grains.

100 were weighed against 100, the difference was 14 grains.

200 were weighed against 200, the difference was 11 grains.

300 were weighed against 300, the difference was 13 grains.

400 were weighed against 400, the difference was 22 grains.

500 were weighed against 500, the difference was 19 grains.

600 were weighed against 600, the difference was 6 grains.

700 were weighed against 700, there was no difference. Half a grain turned the scale.

800 were weighed against 800, the difference was 14 grains.

900 were weighed against 900, the difference was 2 grains.

1000 were weighed against 1000, the difference was 14 grains.

100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 17 grains.

100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt.

100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 14 gr.

100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 6 gr.

100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 3 gr.

100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 16 gr.

100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 23 gr.

100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 18 gr.

100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 18 gr.

100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 8 gr.

8      *Description of a large Collection of Pennies of Henry II.*

5127 weighed 19lb. 6 oz. 5 dwt.

They should have weighed 19 lb. 6 oz. 19 dwt. 18 gr.

The difference is 14 dwt. 18 gr. which, divided amongst the whole number, makes each coin to have weighed nearly within  $\frac{1}{15}$  of a grain of its proper weight.

BRITISH MUSEUM,

Feb. 24, 1814.

II. *On the word Proctor, as employed in the Will of Richard Watts, the Founder of the Rochester Alms-Houses.* By FRANCIS COHEN, Esq. F. S. A.

Read 27th January, 1814.

SOME time in the reign of Elizabeth, Richard Watts Esq. built the alms-houses in the city of Rochester which continue to bear his name: and he afterwards devised the greater part of his property for the support of the charitable establishment which he had founded. Amongst the directions which he gives for the management of the alms-houses, he desires that there shall be provided “six good mat-  
“trices or flock-beds, and other good and sufficient furniture, to har-  
“bour and lodge poor travellers or wayfaring men, being no common  
“rogues nor proctors, and they the said wayfaring men to harbour  
“and lodge therein no longer than one night.”

This employment of the word Proctor has given rise to much misapprehension. In general, it has been taken for granted that the founder used it according to its modern and familiar acceptation; and a story is current, that the villainous treatment which he experienced from a proctor on the continent was the motive which induced him to exclude the practisers in the ecclesiastical courts from the benefit of his charity,—a supper,—a night’s lodging,—and four-pence for viatics on the following morning. It has also been suggested, that “the word  
“Proctor, or Procurator, was the designation of those itinerant priests  
“who, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, had dispensations from the  
“Pope to absolve the subjects of that princess from their allegiance.” This attempt at explanation possesses less probability than the vulgar opinion. There was little necessity for prohibiting the reception of



these emissaries. If in disguise, the provider<sup>a</sup> of the hospital could not have easily distinguished them from other travellers; if discovered, they would have been denounced as traitors, and consigned to the gallows.

In this, as in many other instances, the Statutes of the Realm will afford us a satisfactory elucidation of the language and customs of antiquity. By the act 1 Ed. VI. c. 3. sect. xix. it is enacted, that “all  
“leprous and poore bedred creatures whatsoever they bee, may, at  
“their own libertie, remaine and continue in such houses appointed  
“for leprous or bedred people as they now bee in, and shall not be  
“compelled to repaire into anie other countries or places by virtue of  
“this act. And that it shall be lawful unto the sayde leprous and  
“bedred people, for their better relief, to appointe their *Proctor* or  
“*Proctors*, so there bee not appointed above the number of two persons  
“for any one house of leprous or bedred people to gather the charitable  
“alms of all such inhabitants as shall be within the compasse of foure  
“miles of any of the sayde houses of leprous and bedred persons.” A similar saving clause is inserted in the “act touching the punishment  
“of vagabonds and other idle persons,” (3 and 4 Ed. VI. c. 16.)

It seems, from a passage in Decker's *Honest Whore*, that these proctors were the mendicant lepers, the bearers of the clap-dish so often alluded to.

You're best get a clap dish, and say  
You are a *Proctor* to some spittal house.

*Honest Wh. part the 2d.*

These privileged beggars were deprived of the immunity which the statutes of Edward the 6th had bestowed upon them, by the “act for  
“the punishment of rogues, vagabonds, and sturdie beggars,” (39. Eliz. c. 4.) It declares that “all persons that bee, or utter themselves  
“to be *Proctors*, procurers, patent gatherers for gaols, prisons, or

<sup>a</sup> The officer who was charged with the reception of the inmates, &c.



“ hospitals, all fencers, bearewardes, common players of enterludes, and  
“ minstrelles,” are to be adjudged rogues and vagabonds.

The reasons for refusing admittance either to a true Proctor of a  
lazar house, or to a simulated one, are sufficiently obvious.

FRANCIS COHEN.

III. *Observations on the History and Use of Seals in England.*  
 By HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary, in a Letter to  
 SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. V. P. F. R. S.

Read 10th February, 1814.

DEAR SIR,

British Museum, Feb. 9th, 1814.

I BEG, through your hands, to transmit to the Society of Antiquaries the first of a short series of Papers on the History and Use of Seals in England.

Numerous and large works on Seals have appeared upon the Continent, but in England, with the exception of Mr. Lewis's Treatise, they have only been incidentally illustrated.

The observations which I propose to lay, from time to time, before the Society, will perhaps be found to contain some curious facts; but they are rather intended to produce inquiry than offered on my own part, as even approximating to a complete Memoir.

I am, dear Sir,

Very truly,

Your's,

HENRY ELLIS.

SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. V. P. &c. &c. &c.

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ON the GENERAL HISTORY OF SEALS it may probably be sufficient to say that *Signet Rings*, at least, were known among the earliest nations of antiquity; and though, at a period less remote, Pliny represents them as in use in the Roman empire only,<sup>a</sup> abundant proofs are

<sup>a</sup> —“ Nullosque omnino anulos major pars gentium hominumque, etiam qui sub nostro degunt, hodieque habeat. Non signat Oriens Ægyptus etiam nunc, litteris contenta solis.”  
 Plin. Harduin. ii. 604. l. 19.

furnished by Heineccius, from classical authority, to shew that they were employed at the same time by other nations beyond the reach of the Roman power.<sup>b</sup>

That they were used for sealing wills and letters by the Romans is clear, as well in the provinces as within the circuit of the domestic empire. The numerous gems and rings which have been found at all periods in England,<sup>c</sup> make any reference on this subject to old authorities superfluous. The Romans, however, had no PUBLICK SEALS, and the edicts of their emperors went forth to the world unattested by those peculiar appendages which seem to distinguish the instruments and contracts of modern from those of antient Europe.

The origin of such seals as were most in use in the middle ages, and which have been continued to our own time, Heineccius ascribes to the Byzantine emperors. He considers the Franks to have been the first people who adopted them in the western part of Europe:<sup>d</sup> and, afterwards, makes it the business of his work to trace their history among the Germans.

On the period of time when the use of seals was first introduced into England historians differ.

John Ross, by whose misinformation our antiquaries have been

<sup>b</sup> Jo. Mich. Heineccii de veteribus Germanorum aliarumque Nationum Sigillis, eorumque usu et praestantia, Syntagma Historicum. fol. Franc. & Lips. 1709.

<sup>c</sup> See instances in Blomef. Hist. Norf. vol. v. p. 994, fol. edit. Phil. Trans. No. 257. Gough's Camden, edit. 1789, vol. i. pp. 142, 347. vol. ii. pp. 9. 116\*. 281. 291.

<sup>d</sup> Sir William Dugdale, in the History of Warwickshire, p. 672, makes it appear from the testimony of Preuue, in his Hist. des Contes de Poictou, &c. Par. 1647, p. 155, that a seal was used by Charlemagne.

"Karolus Dei gratia Rex Francorum, &c. Notum sit omnibus, &c. qualiter vir illustris Rogerus Comes fidelis noster, &c. Monasterium, &c. in loco nuncupato Karrofum, &c. in pago Pictaviense construxit, &c. Et ut hæc presens auctoritas nostris et futuris temporibus inviolata perdurare valeat manus nostræ signaculis eam decrevimus roborari et *de Annulo nostro* jussimus SIGILLARI." Circa ann. dom. 769.

Ibid. p. 18. "In nomine domini Dei & Hludovicus divina ordinante clementia Imperator Augustus, Notum sit, &c. Hæc vero autoritas, ut nostris futurisque temporibus melius credatur, &c. manu propria subscripsimus, et *de Annulo nostro subter* jussimus SIGILLARI. "dat. &c. A. D. 814." See also Mabillon de Re diplomat. ed. 1681. p. 127.



deceived in other points, speaks of Henry the First as the earliest of our kings who used a seal of wax.<sup>e</sup>

The editors of Du Cange's Glossary (tom. vi. col. 487) attribute the introduction of seals to William the Conqueror; and appear to have been supported in their opinion by Ingulphus, who states in his History, in general terms, that before the Normans came in, deeds were confirmed by crosses and other signatures only.

Waving the principal question in the present place, it may be curious to observe that foreign antiquaries speak of English seals of a date considerably more remote than the Norman Conquest.

The learned Peiresc, writing to Camden, the English historian, says: "I forgot to tell you that I gave a copy of the seal of Offa, which I took at St. Denys, to M. Cotton; the seal was about as large as a jacobus of gold, the face represented on it was without a beard, and resembled the portrait of the Emperor Trajan."<sup>f</sup>

Doublet,<sup>g</sup> who wrote the History of the Abbey of St. Denis, is also particular in noticing not only the seal of Offa, but that of Ethelwulph, asserting that the images of those princes were respectively represented upon each.

He also mentions a charter from Berthwald, an English duke of the time of Offa, bearing a waxen impression with the figure of the donor in relief.<sup>h</sup>

The authors of the *Nouveau Traité Diplomatique* say: "The learned men of England did not know that seals of the Anglo-Saxon princes were preserved in France. We have, in the archives of the

<sup>e</sup> "Iste etiam rex Henricus primus regum habuit Sigillum de cera." J. Rossi, *Antiq. Warw. Hist. Regum Angliæ.* ed Hearne, p. 138.

<sup>f</sup> The letter is dated Paris, 21 Aug. 1618. "J'oublois de vous dire, que je bailly autrefois à Monsieur Cotton l'empreinte d'un Seau du Roy Offa; j'avoir tirée de St. Denys, ou estoit son visage bien représenté. Le Seau estoit grand comme un Jacobus d'Or environ, la visage estoit sans barbe, et ressembloit aucunement a l'Empereur Trajan. Je ne sçay pas comment il l'a oublié." *Gul. Camdeni et illustr. Virorum ad G. Camd. Epistolæ*, p. 255.

<sup>g</sup> "Antiquitez et Recherches de l'Abbaye de Saint Denis," 4°. 1624, pp. 721. 785. 832.

<sup>h</sup> "Cette chartre scellée d'un scel de cire sain et entier, auquel est empreinte l'effigie de relief du dit Prince Berthauld apres le naturel." Doublet, p. 719.

“ church of St. Denis, a charter of Edgar, half a foot in width and  
“ two feet in length, bearing date the second year of his reign, A. D.  
“ 960. The seal appended to the parchment is of brown wax, and  
“ represents a bust in profile.” The charter, it is added, bore every  
mark of truth and authenticity that could be desired.<sup>i</sup> Nor have  
writers been wanting, even in our own country, who have asserted the  
existence of charters passed by Anglo-Saxon princes *sub proprio Sigillo*.

Sulcardus, in his Collection of Charters granted to Westminster  
Abbey, specifies not only a seal of Edgar, but one of Dunstan Arch-  
bishop of Canterbury, as formerly appendant to a grant.

The learned Selden, in his Treatise on the office of Lord Chan-  
cellor, gives into the idea that no less than three seals were appended  
to a charter of King Edgar to Pershore Abbey.

And Sir Edward Coke says, in the first part of his Institutes,<sup>k</sup> that  
“ the charter of King Edwyn, brother of King Edgar, bearing date  
“ anno domini 956, made of the land called Lecklea, in the Isle of  
“ Ely, was not only sealed with his own seale, (which appeareth by  
“ these words, Ego Edwinus Dei gratia totius Britanniae telluris rex  
“ meum donum proprio Sigillo confirmavi,) but also the Bishop of  
“ Winchester puts to his seale, Ego Ælfwinus Winton’ Ecclesiae divi-  
“ nus speculator proprium Sigillum impressi.” “ The charter of  
“ King Offa,” he adds, “ whereby he gave the Peter Pence, doth yet  
“ remaine under seal.”

Mr. Carte, in his History of England, has placed implicit confi-  
dence in several of these assertions; and he adds, that Matthew Paris

<sup>i</sup> “ Les Savans d’Angleterre n’ont pas sçu que la France possède encore des sceaux de  
leurs Rois Anglo-Saxons. Nous avons vu dans les archives de l’Abbaie de S. Denis une charte  
“ originale d’Edgar, et nous l’avons examinée avec tout le soin possible. Elle n’a qu’un demi-  
“ pié de largeur sur deux de longueur. Elle porte la date de la seconde année du règne d’Ed-  
“ gar et de l’Indiction iii: ce qui revient à l’an 960. On voit au bas du parchemin une inci-  
“ sion pour faire passer une cire brune, sur laquelle le sceau est imprimé. *Il est en placard et*  
“ *non suspendu.* Il représente un buste de profil. Ayant été replié il a marqué sa forme sur  
“ le parchemin. La charte au bas de laquelle il est appliqué porte tous les caractères de vérité et  
“ d’authenticité qu’on peut desirer.” Nouveau Traité Diplomatique, tom. iv. p. 204.

<sup>k</sup> Fol. Lond. 1628, l. i. sect. i. fol. 7.



affirms “there were, in his time, several grants of Saxon Kings under  
“ seal preserved in other monasteries besides that of Westminster.”

To revert, however, to Offa’s seal, so minutely described by Peiresc and Doublet, it is not a little singular that Felibien, in a later History of the Abbey of St. Denis, mentioning Offa’s charter, speaks of it as signed only with the cross and the king’s subscription. Indeed, in the Appendix to his work, he gives the charter at length, which finishes in the usual style of Saxon charters, and has no allusion whatever to a seal.

Dr. Hickes, in the *Dissertatio Epistolaris* prefixed to his *Thesaurus*, considers the charter of Edgar, recited by Sulcardus, as a fabrication, forged, in all probability, after the arrival of the Normans. The hand-writing in which the original deed is written, for it is yet preserved at Westminster, is of a date almost as late as the time of Henry the First : and it is a point of no slight consequence to notice, that the intelligent and laborious author of the *Thesaurus*, more conversant perhaps with Saxon instruments than any writer of any period, deemed the circumstance of a seal being appended as fatal to the authenticity of the grant.<sup>1</sup> He adduces other reasons to prove

<sup>1</sup> “ *Illa Tabula (Tab. c.) chartam Willelmi Conqu. exhibet, quæ tam Saxonico quam*  
“ *Normannico more; nempe tam signis Crucis, quam sigillo vel imagine cerea appendente,*  
“ *cujus nullus Anglo-Saxonibus usus erat, corroboratur. Cujus, inquam, nullus Anglo-Saxo-*  
“ *nibus usus erat, scilicet ante S. Edwardi Conf. tempora; in quibus tamen Sigilla ista ad-*  
“ *pendentia inolevisse vix dici possunt. Quamobrem, Showere, Eadgari R. & S. Dunstani*  
“ *Chartæ Westmonasterienses, quæ supra non uno in loco fictæ esse ostenduntur; hoc etiam*  
“ *nomine falsitatis damnandæ sunt, quod ambæ pariter, Sigillis (sic enim cereas laminas et*  
“ *impressiones vocamus) adpendentibus munitæ esse finguntur. Eadgari quidem Chartæ sigil-*  
“ *lum suum perditum non ostendat; sed locus membranæ, é quo per retinaculum pende-*  
“ *bat, etiamnum cernitur; et Sigillum pensile olim habuisse, hæc ejus verba monstrant: Manus*  
“ *nostræ subscriptionibus subtus eam decrevimus roborare, et de sigillo nostro* (quæ phrasis est  
“ *Gallo-Normannica, De notre sceau) jussimus sigillare. E charta autem Dunstani Sigillum*  
“ *adhuc ritu Normannico dependet, in cujus obversa facie impressa cernitur Dunstani effi-*  
“ *gies, scabello pedibus supposito sedentis, dextraque pedum pastorale, sinistra vero librum*  
“ *tenentis, in quo, PAX VOBIS, cum Epigraphe, quæ in perimetron hic est: SIGILLUM*  
“ *DUNST. EPI. LVND. In aversa autem facie cernitur icuncula impressa, circa quam in-*  
“ *scriptio hæc: DUNSTAN EPC VIGORN. Hæc, inquam, ritu Gallo-Normannico. Nam*



that the seal of Dunstan could have none other than a Norman origin.

“ apud Normannos nostros mos hic erat conficiendi Chartas ; ut auctor donationis, qui duobus  
 “ honorificis titulis gauderet, in utraque Sigilli adpendentis facie, quæ chartam muniebat, sui  
 “ diversam effigiem exhiberet. Sic nobilis illa Charta Cottoniana, Latine et Saxonice, con-  
 “ fecta ab Odone Baiocensi Epō & Comite Cantix, qua Ecclesiæ Cantuariensi quatuor Den-  
 “ nas, &c. dat, adpendens Sigillum habet ; in cujus obversa fronte Odo vestimentis Pontificis ;  
 “ in adversa vero Comitis amictu indutus exhibetur.

“ Ob eandem etiam rationem, aut fraudis, aut inscitix saltem arguendus est Godefridus  
 “ ille Archidiaconus Wigorniensis, qui summum pontificem Alexandrum tertium certiore  
 “ faciens de charta quadam Eadgari regis, quam, ut certissimæ auctoritatis fideique scriptum,  
 “ commendatum esse voluit, sic ad eum scribit : ‘ Reverendissimo domino et patri A. summo  
 “ Pontifici minimus sanctitatis suæ servus Godefridus dictus Archidiaconus Wigorniensis. (a)  
 “ Noverit itaque Sanctitas vestra verum esse, quod contrascripti hujus scriptum originale in  
 “ virtute Sanctæ Trinitatis Sigilla tria trium personarum autenticarum ad veritatem triplici  
 “ confirmatione commendant. Est autem Sigillum primum illustris Regis Eadgari. Secun-  
 “ dum S. Dunstani Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis. Tercium Alferi Ducis Merciorum.’ Hæ  
 “ Godefridæ literæ ad summum Pontificem datæ, sub charta amplissima Eadgari R. qua Mo-  
 “ nasterio Perscorensi libertates et privilegia confirmat, agglutinatæ cernuntur in collectione  
 “ Cottoniana quæ inscribitur AUGUSTUS II. Charta illa habet supra Scriptam notam nu-  
 “ meralem [5,] eamque ipsam putat Johannes Seldenus, (b) & qui illum citat Edvardus Stil-  
 “ lingfletus, Decanus Londinensis, (c) honorifice semper ob maximam eruditionem suam no-  
 “ minandus, quam Godefridus in literis suis ad summum pontificem scriptis, veram, ut quam  
 “ tribus sigillis munitam vidisset, attestatus est. Eam autem ipsam esse id propter existimant,  
 “ quod tres incisuras totidem Sigillorum adpendentium indicia ostentat. Verum charta illa cui  
 “ in collectione Cottoniana, Godefridi Literæ suffixæ cernuntur, non tres (quod pace Seldeni  
 “ dictum velim) sed quinque, quales ille memorat, incisuras habet, casu forsan factas. Quod  
 “ si consilio factæ fuerint, id fraudi monachorumtribuendum est ; qui de fallendis Normannis  
 “ consultantes, qui chartas antiquas Sigillis non munitas in dubium non raro vocare solebant,  
 “ iis aliquando Sigilla pendula apponebant. Sic Chartæ forsan istæ Cottonianæ, sive illa  
 “ eadem, sive alia est, de qua ad summum pontificem scripsit Godefridus, sigilla adposuerunt  
 “ monachi, ut Normannis illam non sigillatam damnaturis palpum obtruderunt. Nam sigil-  
 “ lationem chartarum cum pendulis Sigillis in usu non fuisse apud Anglos ante S. Edwardi III.  
 “ tempora, non Ingulphus tantum adfirmat, cujus verba in alienum sensum distorquet cl. nos-  
 “ ter Stillingfletus : sed post eorum usum ut illo rege introductum nros non erat simplicium

(a) Hic erat archidiaconus Wigorn. ab an. 1148, ad annum 1167.

(b) Of the Office of Lord Chancellour, ch. 2.

(c) In egregio opere suo *Anglice* scripto, cui titulus *Origines Britannicæ*.

On the seals noticed in so decisive a tone by Sir Edward Coke, it may be remarked, that in the Saxon times *Signum* and *Sigillum* were, in many instances, synonymous. Among the Cotton charters in the British Museum<sup>m</sup> is one of Edwy, dated in the same year with that which Sir Edward Coke quotes. It is a grant to Wulfric, one of his nobles, of seven cassates of land at Melebroce. It finishes with the names and crosses of the different witnesses; and among them it is said,

- ✠ Ego Eadwig Rex Anglorum indeclinabiliter concessi.
- ✠ Ego Eadgar ejusdem Regis frater consensi
- ✠ Ego Oda Archiepiscopus cum Signo Sanctæ Crucis roboravi.
- ✠ Ego Ælfsinus presul SIGILLUM agiæ Crucis<sup>+</sup> impressi.

And in the last sentence, a cross stands not only at the beginning of Ælfsinus's name, but there is another over the word *Crucis*. *Sigillum agiæ Crucis IMPRESSI*.

The same expression occurs at the close of a charter of King Edred to the church of Winchester in the year 948. The mark of the cross is followed by the king's name, who adds, "*Cum Sigillo sanctæ Crucis confirmavi.*"

It is also to be found at the close of several charters of Edward the Confessor.

None of these deeds have the slightest appearance of having ever had seals of wax appendant.

Mr. Carte's assertion, that Matthew Paris notices several grants of Saxon kings under seal in other monasteries besides that of West-

"donationum chartas, quibus personæ, quotquot erant, contrahentes, Sigilla sua ordine adponebant." Hickesii Diss. Epist. p. 71.

Dunstan's Charter finishes, "*hanc libertatis cedulam impressione Sigilli nostri, et Anuli insuper, et agalmate sanctæ Crucis, &c.*"

<sup>m</sup> Cart. Antiq. Cotton. Brit. Mus. viii. 12.



minster, is incorrect, Matthew Paris only stating that the seal of Edward the Confessor was to be found in that monastery.<sup>n</sup>

The seal of Edward the Confessor then is the first, at least of the royal kind, with which our antiquaries are acquainted. Edward had received his education in Normandy, where he is said not only to have contracted many intimacies with the natives, but a singular affection for the manners of the country. His civil code has descended to us in the Norman tongue, and the reader, who will take the pains to consult Mabillon de Re Diplomatica, (fol. 1681, tab. xxxix), or the Nouveau Traité Diplomatique, (tom. iv. p. 126), will see a remarkable coincidence in form, and size, and device, between the Confessor's seal and that of Henry the First of France, who began his reign in the year 1031. I suspect the latter to have been the archetype of the Confessors.

On one side of his seal, King Edward the Confessor is represented sitting on a throne, bearing on his head a sort of mitre. In his right hand he holds a sceptre finishing in a cross, and in his left a globe. On the other side he is also represented with the same sort of head-dress sitting. In his right-hand, a sceptre finishing with a dove; in his left, a sword, the hilt pressed toward his bosom. On each side is the same legend,

SIGILLUM EADWARDI ANGLORUM BASILEI.

This seal of King Edward is mentioned several times in the Domesday Survey.<sup>o</sup> The substance of one of the most remarkable entries relating to it is given in the New Magna Britannia. “The Record of  
“Domesday, (say the authors of that work), mentions a manor in  
“Sparsholt belonging to the monastery of Abingdon, and states that  
“the men of the county said that Edric gave it to his son, a monk at  
“Abingdon, for life, and they did not know that it ever belonged to

<sup>n</sup> “Quod enim dicebant Regum *Anglicorum* nulla esse Sigilla, deprehensum esse falsum in quibusdam Monasteriis, nam apud Westmonasterium inveniebatur Sigillum Regis Edwardi.” Mat. Par. ed. 1684, p. 1027.



“ the abbey, but the abbot claimed it as given to the convent in the  
 “ reign of Edward the Confessor, and showed the king’s charter *with*  
 “ *his SEAL*, and the signatures of all the monks.”<sup>p</sup>

No public act, however, appears to have made the use of this seal indispensable. A charter sanctioned by signatures and crosses only was equally as valid as the sealed deed. In Domesday, the words. “ Pax  
 “ *manu Regis VEL Sigillo ejus data*,” frequently occur.

It must not be passed by in silence, that another seal exists which has an undoubted claim to an origin almost as remote as that of the Confessor. I will not say that it may not have even a higher claim. It represents the half-length figure of a female, and has this inscription : “ Sigillum Eadgythe Regalis Adelphe.” I have reason to hope a Memoir upon it will soon be presented to the Society from the pen of a member far better qualified than I am to discuss its history. The seal alluded to belonged to the abbesses of Wilton. It appears to have been preserved with peculiar care, and to have been used to the very time when the Monastery was dissolved.

<sup>p</sup> “ De hoc  $\overline{\text{m}}$  scira attestat. qđ Edric<sup>o</sup> qui eũ tenebat delibãuit illũ filio suo qui erat in Abendone monach<sup>o</sup> ut ad firmã illud teneret. 7 sibi donec uiueret necessaria uitæ inde donaret. Post mortẽ  $\overline{\text{u}}$  ej<sup>o</sup>  $\overline{\text{m}}$  hab’et. 7 idõ nesciunt hoẽs de scira qđ abbatix ptineat. Neq; enĩ inde uideř breuẽ regis t̃ sigillũ. Abb<sup>o</sup>  $\overline{\text{u}}$  testat qđ in T. R. E. misit ille  $\overline{\text{m}}$  ad æcefam unde erat. 7 inde hř breuẽ 7 sigillũ R. E. attestantib; omĩb; monachis suis.” Tom. i. fol. 59.

IV. *Two English Poems of the time of Richard II. Communicated by the Rev. J. J. CONYBEARE, M. A. Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, in a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.*

(Read 3d March, 1814.)

MY DEAR SIR,

Oxford, August 12, 1813.

THE two short Poems annexed, independently of the superiority they possess over most of the minstrel productions of their age, appear to present so lively a picture of the popular feeling towards the commencement of the weak and disastrous government of Richard the Second, that I am persuaded they will not be altogether unacceptable to the admirers of our ancient literature.

Both of them occur in the latter part of an immense manuscript volume of English Poetry preserved in the Bodleian Library, and usually stiled, from the name of its donor, the Vernon Manuscript. The contents of this remarkable volume are chiefly of a religious or moral nature. All the more prominent parts of the Old and New Testament, and the lives of most of the saints of the Romish Calendar, intermixed with a few tales of classical origin,<sup>a</sup> one metrical romance of a religious nature,<sup>b</sup> one pious treatise in prose, and the well-known poem of Pierce Plowman, appear (for the last article is imperfect towards the conclusion) to have formed the first and largest division of the volume. The second consists, for the greater part, of short poems on

<sup>a</sup> One of these, the well-known story of Damon and Pithias, commences with an entertaining specimen of the versifier's attainments in history and geography :

“ Sum time men reden that ther was  
In a *cuntre* clept *Pitagoras*.”

<sup>b</sup> The King of Tars and the Soudan of Damas. Published by Mr. Ritson.

moral or religious subjects, usually in the metre of those now submitted to the Society, terminating, like them, in a *Refrain*, and much superior both in point of imagination and expression to those contained in the former part. One of the poems in this volume, a composition for its age of very singular pathos and beauty, has been published by Mr. Ritson in his *Ancient Songs*.<sup>c</sup> I have little doubt, from the similarity of style, that the whole contents of the section from which it is extracted proceeded from the same hand.

Believe me,

Dear Sir,

With much esteem,

Your's, &c.

J. J. CONYBEARE.

HENRY ELLIS, Esq.

## ELEGY

ON THE

### *Death of King Edward III.*

A! Dere God! what mai this be  
 That alle thing weres & wasteth awai.  
 Ffriendschip is but a vanyte,  
 Unnethe hit dures al a day.<sup>d</sup>  
 Thei beo so sliper at assai,  
 So leof to han & loth to lete,<sup>e</sup>  
 And so fikel in heore fai,  
 That selden I-seize is sone forgete.<sup>f</sup>

I sei hit not withouten a cause,  
 And th'fore taketh riht good hede,  
 Ffor gif ye construwe wel this clause,  
 I puit you holly out of drede,<sup>g</sup>

<sup>c</sup> It will be found in the first part of his curious volume, and commences "Nou brñes buirdes bolde & blythe."

<sup>d</sup> Unless it be durable.

<sup>e</sup> So ready to take, and so lothe to forego.

<sup>f</sup> That which is no longer seen is soon forgotten.

<sup>g</sup> Doubt.



That for puire shame ȝor herte wol blede,  
And ȝe this matere wysli trete,  
He that was ur moste spede  
Is selden I seȝe and sone forȝete.

Sum tyme an Englisch schip we had,  
Nobel hit was & heih of tour,  
Thorw al Cristendam hit was drad,  
And stif wolde stande in uch a stour.<sup>ia</sup>  
And best dorst byde a scharp schour  
And other stormes smale & grete.  
Now is that schip that bar the flour  
Selden seȝe & sone forȝete.

Into that schip ther longed a Roothur,  
That steered the schip, & governed hit:  
In al this world nis such a nothur  
As me thinketh in my wit.  
Whyl schip and Rothur toȝeder was knit,  
Thei dredde nouthur tempest driyȝe nor wete.  
Nou be thei both in synder flit,  
That selden seyȝe is sone forȝete.

Scharpe wawes<sup>i</sup> that schip has sayled,  
And sayed all sees at aventur,  
For wynd ne wederes never hit fayled,  
Whyl the Rothur mihte enduir.  
Thouȝ the sees were rouȝ or elles dimuir  
Gode havenes that schip wolde ȝete.  
Nou is that schip, I am wel suir,  
Selden I seȝe & sone forȝete.

This goode schip, I may remene<sup>k</sup>  
To the Chilvalrye of this londe,  
Sum time thei counted nouȝt a bene.<sup>l</sup>  
Beo al Ffrance Ich understonde

<sup>ia</sup> In every danger.

<sup>i</sup> So the MS. waves?

<sup>k</sup> So the MS. Quære, if "*semene*," compare.

<sup>l</sup> They valued not France a single bean. (Vid. Bene. in Glossary to Tyrwhitt's Chaucer.)

This expression, which appears to have been proverbial, is, I believe, now quite obsolete.

*Elegy on the Death of*

Thei tok & slouȝ hem with heore honde  
 The power of Ffrance both smal and grete,  
 And brouȝt ther Kyng hider to bide her bonde.<sup>m</sup>  
 And nou riȝt sone hit is forȝete.

That schip had a ful siker<sup>n</sup> mast,  
 And a sayl strong and large,  
 That made the gode schip never agast  
 To undertake a thyng of charge.  
 And to that schip ther longed a barge,  
 Of al Ffrance ȝaf nouȝt a clete.<sup>o</sup>  
 To us hit was a siker targe.  
 And now riht clene hit is forȝete.

The Rothur was nouthur Ok ne Elm,  
 Hit was Edward the thridde the noble kniȝt :  
 The Prince his Sone bar up his helm,  
 That never 'sconfited was in filȝt.  
 The Kyng him rod & rouwed ariȝt,  
 The prince drad nouthur stok nor strete,  
 Nou of hym we lete ful liȝt.  
 That selde is seȝe is sone forȝete.

The swift barge was Duk Henri  
 That noble kniȝt & wel assayed,  
 And in his leggance worthili  
 He abod mony a bitter braid.  
 Gif that his enemys ouȝt outrayed  
 To chastis hem wolde he not lete.  
 Nou is that Lord ful lowe ileyd.  
 That selde is seȝe is sone forȝete.

This ȝode communes, by the Rode,  
 I likne hem to the schipes mast,  
 That with heore catel and heore gode  
 Meynteyned the werre both furst & last.

<sup>m</sup> To remain as their captive.

<sup>n</sup> Firm, secure.

<sup>o</sup> This expression I do not understand. It may possibly be an error of the transcriber.

The wynd that blew the schip with blast  
Hit was gode preyers, I sei hit a trete,<sup>r</sup>  
Now is devoutnes out i-cast,  
And mony gode dedes be clen forȝete.

Thus be this Lordes i-leid ful lowe.  
The stok is of the same rote.  
An ympe biginnes for to growe  
And ȝit I hope shal ben ur bote.  
To hold his fomen underfote,  
And as a Lord be set in sete.  
Crist leve that he so mote,  
That selden i-seȝe be not forȝete.

Weor that Impe ffully growe,  
That he had sarr<sup>a</sup> sap & pith.  
I hope he shulde be kud & knowe  
Ffor Conquerour of moni a kith.  
He is ful lyflich in lim & lith  
In armes to travayle & to swete,  
Crist leeve we so fare him with,  
That selden seȝe be never forȝete.

And therfore holliche, I ou rede,  
Til that this Impe beo ffully growe,  
That uch a mon up with the hede,  
And mayntene him both heȝe & lowe.  
The Ffrenchmen cūe both boste & blowe  
And with heore scornes us to threte.  
And we beoth both unkuynde & slowe  
That selden seȝe is sone forȝete.

And therfore, gode Sires, taketh reward  
Of ȝor douhti kyng that dyȝede in age,  
And to his son Prince Edward  
That welle was of al corage.

<sup>r</sup> A trait. (Fr.) In my discourse, in earnest?

<sup>a</sup> Sarr.—I am unacquainted with this word. Can it be a corruption of savour? (Vid. "Sareless," in Jamieson's Scottish Dict.)



*Poem on the Disturbances*

Such two Lords of heigh parage  
 In <sup>r</sup> not in eorthe whon we schal gete.  
 And nou heore los biginneth to swage.  
 That selde i-sege is sone forgete.

---

## P O E M

ON THE

*Disturbances and Calamities of the earlier part of the Reign of  
 King Richard II.*

YET is God a curteis Lord,  
 And mekeliche con schewe his miht.  
 Ffayne he wolde bring til acord  
 Monkuynde to live in treuthe ariht.  
 Allas! whi set we that Lord so liht,  
 And al to foule with him we fare?  
 In World is no so wys no wiht,  
 That thei ne have warning to beware.

We may not sege but if we lyge  
 That God wol vengeaunce on us stele.  
 Ffor openly we seo with eye  
 This warnynges beoth wonder & fele.<sup>\*</sup>  
 But nou this wrecched worldes wele  
 Maketh us lyve in sunne & care,  
 Of mony merveyles I may of mele,<sup>†</sup>  
 And al is warnynge to beware.

Whon the Comuynes bigan to ryse,  
 Was non so gret Lord as I gesse  
 That thei in herte bigon to gryse,<sup>‡</sup>  
 And leide her Jolyte in presse.  
 Wher was the<sup>u</sup>ne heore wwrthinesse?  
 Whon thei made lordes droup & dare.<sup>x</sup>  
 Of all wyse men I take wyttesse,  
 This a warnyng to beware

<sup>\*</sup> So the MS.<sup>†</sup> Many.<sup>‡</sup> To speak.<sup>u</sup> To tremble.<sup>x</sup> Q. As to this usage of dare?

Bifore gif Menhedde had a graas,<sup>7</sup>  
Lordes miht wonder weel  
Han let the rying that ther was.  
But that God thozte hit sum del  
That Lordes schulde his Lordschup feel,  
And of heore Lordschipe make hem bare.  
Trust therto as trewe as steel,  
This was a warnyng to beware.

And also whon this eorthe quok,  
Was non so proud he n'as agast,  
And al his Jolite forsok  
And thougt on God whyl that hit last.  
And alsone as hit was overpast  
Men wox as wel as thei dude are.  
Uche mon in his herte mai cast.  
This was a warnyng to beware.

Fforsoth this was a Lord to drede  
So sodeynly mad mon aghast.  
Of gold & selver thei tok non hede  
But out of the houses ful sone thei past.  
Chaumbres, chimeneys, al to barst,  
Chirches & castels foul gon fare,  
Pinacles, steples, to ground hit cast.  
And al was warnyng to beware.

The mevyng of this Eorthe, I wys,  
That schulde by cuynde<sup>2</sup> be ferm & stabele,  
A pure veray toknyng hit is  
That menes hertes ben chaṅgable.  
And that to falshud thei ben most abul,  
Ffor with good feith wul we not fare.  
Leef hit wel withouten fabel,  
This was a warnyng to beware.

<sup>7</sup> This line appears capable of two interpretations :

1. " If men had had favour shewn them by the Deity. "

2. If men had had benevolent and kind dispositions (towards their inferiors.)

<sup>2</sup> Naturally, by kind.

*Poem on the Disturbances, &c.*

The rysing of the comuynes in Londe,  
 The pestilens, & the Eorthequake,  
 Theose threo thynges, I understonde,  
 Beo tokenes the grete vengeaũce & wrake  
 That schulde fall for synnes sake,  
 As this clerkes con declare.  
 Now mai we chese to leve or take,  
 For warnyng have we to ben ware

Ever I drede, be my trouthe  
 Ther mai no warnyng stande in stede,  
 We ben so ful of synne & slouthe  
 The schame is passed the sched of hed.  
 And we liggen riht hevy as led  
 Cumbred in the Ffendes snare.  
 I leeve this beo ur beste red,  
 To thenke on this warnyng to beware.

Sikerliche I dar wel saye  
 In such a plyt thys world is in.  
 Many for wynnynge wolde bitraye  
 Father & Moder & all hys kyn.  
 Nou were heih tyme to begin  
 To amende ur mis & wel to fare.  
 Ur bagge hongeth on a sliper pyn,  
 Bote we of this warning prepare.

Bewar for I con sey no more,  
 Bewar for vengauce of trespas,  
 Bewar & thenk upon this lore,  
 Bewar of this sodeyn cas.  
 And git bewar while we have spas,  
 And thonke that child that Marie bare,  
 Of his gret goodnesse & his gras,  
 Sende us such warnyng to beware.



V. *Two Original Papers. One, a Letter containing an Account of the Reception of King Charles the Second, when Prince of Wales, at Cambridge, in 1641. The second, the Appointment of Sir Ralph Hare, Baronet, of the County of Norfolk, to be one of the Hostages to the Kingdom of Scotland in 1646. Communicated by SIR GEORGE NAYLER, Knt. F.S.A. in a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 28th April, 1814.

DEAR SIR,

Herald's College, 30th March, 1814.

I BEG to transmit to you the enclosed Papers, (which have fallen into my hands in the course of professional business,) conceiving that they may be interesting to the Society of Antiquaries. Should you coincide with me in this opinion, have the goodness to submit the originals at your next meeting, and then return them to me. The copies which I have also enclosed are at your service.

Believe me to remain,

Very faithfully your's,

GEO. NAYLER,

*York Herald, Genealogist of the Bath.*

HENRY ELLIS, Esq.  
&c. &c. &c.

## COPY.

S<sup>r</sup>

I KNOW you have expected Cambridge Newes er now; & should have received it had a Messenger been at hand. On Saturday seaven-night the Prince came hither betwene 9 & 10 of y<sup>e</sup> Clock, attended w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Dukes of Lenox & Buckingham, his Tutor, y<sup>e</sup> Earl of Carlile, y<sup>e</sup> L<sup>d</sup> Seimour, L<sup>d</sup> Francis y<sup>e</sup> Duke of Buckingham's Brother, & divers other Gentlemen. The Vicechan: received him w<sup>th</sup> a Speech in our Regent Walk: thence he went & saw Kings Chappell, where at his entrance into y<sup>e</sup> Quire I saw him say his Prayers, of w<sup>h</sup> he was so little ashamed, that in the midst of that multitude he hid not his devocōn in his hat: From thence he retired to y<sup>e</sup> Regent house, & sitting in his fathers place was saluted by y<sup>e</sup> publique Orator. Before he came in amongst us, a grace passed for his degree, with this addicōn extraordinary, Ad sempiternū Academie honorem: to y<sup>e</sup> eternall honor of y<sup>e</sup> Univ'sity. After y<sup>e</sup> Orators Speech, he was created Master in Arts; & then, by Coñmission from y<sup>e</sup> King, for all those whome his Sone should nominate: The Duke of Bucking: y<sup>e</sup> Earl of Carliel, y<sup>e</sup> L<sup>d</sup> Seimour, & divers Gentlemen of y<sup>e</sup> Univ'sity. His Tutor also y<sup>e</sup> Bish: of Salisbury, was admitted to y<sup>e</sup> degre he had formerly taken in Oxford. From y<sup>e</sup> Regenthouse his Highnes went to Trinity College, where after dinner he saw a Comedy in English, & gave all sighnes of great acceptance w<sup>h</sup> he could, & more then y<sup>e</sup> Univ'sity dared expect. The Comedy ended, he took Coach in y<sup>e</sup> Court, & returned to Newmarket. The noble Duke of Lenox, a right worthy Friend to y<sup>e</sup> Univ'sity, we suppose y<sup>e</sup> Instrument of all this great favour shewn to it. The Prince Elector came not w<sup>th</sup> our Prince, least (as we suppose) y<sup>e</sup> Prince of Wales should loose something of y<sup>e</sup> honorable entertainment by y<sup>e</sup> Company of one whoe could not honor him as y<sup>e</sup> rest did, for y<sup>e</sup> Duke of Lenox & all y<sup>e</sup> rest waited upon him y<sup>e</sup> whole day, & all y<sup>e</sup> Comedy while, bareheaded. The truthe is y<sup>e</sup> Prince wanted no circumstance of honor w<sup>h</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Court about him, or y<sup>e</sup> Univ'sity could give.



This so highly pleased y<sup>e</sup> King, that, y<sup>e</sup> Moonday after, he came hither himself, & whereas it was thought y<sup>e</sup> otherwise he would privately have passed through, he then graciously turned in & staid a while. At his coming out of y<sup>e</sup> Coach, w<sup>h</sup> was before Trinity College, y<sup>e</sup> University being placed ready, saluted him w<sup>th</sup> such vehement acclamaçons of Vivat Rex, as I never heard y<sup>e</sup> like noise heer before upon any occasion. The Vice Chan: met his Majesty, & w<sup>th</sup> a long Speech presented him a very fair Bible. After he entered Trinity College, y<sup>e</sup> Master saluted him w<sup>th</sup> another oracõn, & presented (I think) a book also. The Speech ended he went into y<sup>e</sup> Chappell, & seemed very well to approve all their ornaments. As soon as he had seen that Chappell he walked to S. Johns, viewed their Chappell & Library, [and] took a travelling banquet in y<sup>e</sup> further Court, w<sup>h</sup> was presented to him upon banquet Chargers. He was their saluted by a speech from y<sup>e</sup> Orator, & another from Mr. Cleveland. He spake very kindly concerning D<sup>r</sup>. Beal (whoe was absent) saying he would not believe such as he to be dishonest Men, till he saw it so proved. At S. John's Gate he took Coach & so went to Huntingdon. What he did there & what he did at Newmarket, printed Papyrs I suppose have already told you. At his parting one tells me that he spake thus to y<sup>e</sup> Vicechan. "M<sup>r</sup>. Vicechanc: Whatsoever becomes of me I will charge my Sonn, upon my blessing, to respect y<sup>e</sup> Univ'sity."

S<sup>r</sup>, I would fain hear how you indured your Journey to London: & how my Mother & Sister doe. My duty to your self & my Mother: & my love to y<sup>e</sup> rest: I take my leave.

Your obedient Sonn,

JOSEPH BEAUMONT.

S. PETERS, y<sup>e</sup> best day of my  
life, March 21, 1641.

His Sonn y<sup>e</sup> Prince Elect<sup>r</sup>, y<sup>e</sup> Duke of Lenox, & very few other Gentlemen came w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> King.

To his very loving father M<sup>r</sup>  
John Beaumont at his house  
in Hadly this prsnt.

Suff.



COPY.

S<sup>r</sup>,

BOTH Houses of Parliament have appointed you, with some others, to bee Hostages to the Kingdome of Scotland for the performance of certaine Articles, aggreed upon betweene Co<sup>m</sup>ittees of Lords & Co<sup>m</sup>ons of the Parliament of England and Commissioners of the Kingdome of Scotland, authorised thereunto by the Parliaments of each Kingdome respectively, and have referred it to Us, to give the said Hostages notice thereof, and to appoint the time and place where they are to meete for that Service. Wee therefore in pursuance thereof doe desire You not to faile to bee personally present at Yorke, upon or before the fiveteenth day of January next comming ready for the performance of that Service, As you shall bee directed by a Comittee of both Houses, that shall bee upon the place. By the Articles you are not to remaine Hostage above seven dayes at the most: So Wee rest

Your very loving Friends

Darby house the 24<sup>th</sup>  
day of Decemb: 1646.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

WARWICKE.

MANCHESTER.

W. ARMYNE.

W. PIERREPONT.

GILBT GERARD.

H. VANE.

PH. STAPILTON.

RO: WALLOP.

For S<sup>r</sup> Ralph Hare of the Countie  
of Norfolke Baronet.

VI. *Account of a Tract, from the Press of Richard Pynson, relating to the Espousals and Marriage of Mary, daughter of King Henry the Seventh, with Charles Prince of Castile. By HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary, in a Letter to SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. V. P. F. R. S.*

Read 26th May, 1814.

DEAR SIR,

UPON looking into some of the earlier volumes of the *Archaeologia*, I find that typographical antiquities have occasionally engaged the attention of the Society of Antiquaries. Allow me, through your hands, to transmit an Account of a Tract in the Library of the British Museum, printed by Pynson, of which, as far as I can learn, no other copy is known. It throws light on a transaction at the close of the reign of Henry the Seventh, on which the information of our historians is, to say the least, scanty; and it has been noticed by no collector of the titles of English works printed in the sixteenth century.

Above the royal arms, supported by angels, with the rose and portcullis beneath, is the title:

“ The solempnities & triumphes doon & made at the spousell; and Mariage of the Kyng; doughter the Ladye Marye to the Prynce of Castile Archeduke of Austrige.”

At the end is the imprint of Richard Pynson, followed, on the last leaf, by his device. The date of this tract is a desideratum which I have been enabled to supply from other sources.

On the reverse of the title it is said: “ Hereafter folowe and ensue suche honourable and notable act;, solempnyties, ceremonyes, & triumphes that were lately doon, made, & sheued as well for the receyuyng of the great notable Ambassade lately sent to the Kyngs



hyghnes frome the moost excellent Prynce his moost dere & entierly beloued Brother and cousyn Themperoure, and his good sone Charles the yonge Prynce of Castell Archeduke of Austriche, for the spousell; & mariage to be had and made betwixt the said Prynce and the Kyngs right dere & noble doughter the Ladye Mary *nowe Pryncesse of Castyle*, as also suche forme ordre and maner as was vsed and had in the solempnysation and contractynge of the sayd spouselles and mariage with the cherefull and honourable entretaignynge of the sayd Ambassadors duryngc their abode within this Reame."

The Tract opens with the mention of the Treaty concluded at Calais between the King's ambassadors and those of the Emperor Maximilian,<sup>a</sup> followed by an enumeration of the principal personages sent by the Emperor upon the mission.

"Whereof the first was the Lord Barg; oon of the gretest lords of those partes. The seconde was the gouernour of Bresse a baron of grete honour. The thirde doctoure Fplonke in great fauour & auctorite with Themppoure. The fourth was the President of Flaūdres, hauyng grete wysdome lernyng & auctorite. The fyfthe Mesyr Andrea de Buigo, a Knyght of th Emperours Counsayll of great wysdome, lernynge, and experience. The sixth the Prouost of Cassell, a goodly personage, right discrete, sadde, and well lerned. The senenth a Secretrrye. And the eyght a Kyng at armys called Toysoñ dore. All beyng honourably appoynted and well accompanied. In whose company there came dyuerse great Lordes, as Monsyr de Beuers and Monsire de Walleyñ and other gentylmen of those parties a good and honourable nombre.

"For the metyng and conductinge of whiche Ambassadors, at and from the see syde to the Kyngs presence, there were at sundrye places deputed and assigned many and dyuerse great Lordes bothe spirituell and temporall, and also Knyghts, squyers, and other gentyll men to a great nombre.

"And firste, after that the sayd Ambassadors at the Kyngs towne

<sup>a</sup> See Rym. Fœd. tom. xliii. p. 171.



of Calays had ben by Kyng's deputie and the hedde officers with all the retynewe there goodly receyved, honourably lodged, cherefully entretained and presented, duryng theyr abode in the sayd towne, the Kyngs said Deputie, well appoynted and accompanied, passed with them from thense to Dououre where the pryoure of Christs Church at Caunterbury and Sir Edward Ponyng's receyved the sayd Ambassadors, and conductyng theym to the Cytie of Caunterbury lodged theym in the pryoure of Christes Church lodgyng, where th'Abbot of saynct Augustines, the Mayer and Aldermen of that Cytie, welcomed theym and gave great presents and pleasures unto theym.

“ From thense they were conueyed by the sayde Pryoure, the deputie of Calays, and Sir Edward Ponyngs.”

Here there is an hiatus in the tract of at least one leaf, and the thread of the narrative is resumed in a conference at court between the Emperor's ambassadors and the King, at the time the former delivered their credentials. Where the court was held does not appear, but it is probable it must have been either at Sheen or Greenwich.

“ This doon, the Kynges Grace called the Ambassadors unto hym, and famylierly entred communycacion with them vpon many and goodly deuyses, bryngyng theym into his Inner Chambre; where, after they had long contynued and talked of and upon many great & weyghty matiers they departed for that tyme to London accompanied with the Lords and others before wrytten.

“ The daye folowyng Tharchebysshoppe of Caunterbury, the Bysshop of Wynchester, Th'Erll of Arundell, with dyuerse and many great Lordes and other of the Kyng's counsayll, by the Kyng's commaundement reasortyd to the sayd Ambassadors to se and examyne suche commyssions and wrytyngs as they had brought with them for th'accomplishment of all and synguler suche treaties & conclusions as were taken at the sayde towne of Calays. Whiche wrytyngs, by good deliberation well and substancially seen, the same were founde as pfyte & effectuell as coude be deuysed to be. So that for the corroboracion of the sayd amytie & mariage there cannot by mannes reason more be desyred to be had.

“ For there is first Th Emperours acceptacion and Confirmacion by hymselfe of the said amytye, which is as large as can be thought, under his signe and seale.

“ There is also a confirmacion for the sayd Emperoure as tutor and manborne of the said yonge Prynce ioynctely togydre substancially made by the sayde Emperoure and Prynce with their signe manuells and seales.

“ There be also obligacions and bandes of the sayd Emperoure and yonge prynce aswell ioynctely as a parte and seuerally byndyng themselves, theyr heyres, landes, & subgiетts under right great sommes of money for penalties whiche they shall forfayte in caas this mariage betwixt the yonge prynce and the kyngs doughter take not effect.

“ There is also an honourable dower assigned to the kyngs sayd doughter in the sayd yonge Prynces lands that he is nowe possessed of and that shall in any maner wyse discende unto hym hereafter largelyer thenne euer had any duchesse of Borgoyne, and good assurance made for the same.

“ The lands, countrayes, and subgetts of the sayd yonge Prynce by the Emperours auctorite and assent be also bounden in lyke penalties.

“ The duchesse of Sauoye is also bounde in lyke wyse undre a great penaltie for hyr parte.

“ And over that a great nombre of the Lordes and townes under thobeissaunce of the said yonge Prince be semblably bounden in lyke penalties under theyr signes and seales.

“ And for thaccomplishment of all the sayde matiers on the kyngs partie as well for the perfeccion of the Mariage as the payment of the dote to be yeuen by his grace with his sayd doughter for hir mariage, which is right large and honourable, lyke bands and suerties be made vnder semblable penalties.”

Another hiatus in the Tract throws the reader abruptly into the account of the Entertainments given to the Ambassadors immediately before their return to the Emperor.

“ That daye,” it is said, “ the Kings Highnes caused the Lord



Barg; and the Gouvernoure of Bresse to dyne with hym at his owne table, th'other ambassadours departyng to a nother Chambre next adioynynge where prouysion was made for them in moost honourable maner and there dynd accompanied with dyuerse of the grettest Lords spirituell and temporell of the Reame."

"The dyner fynished, there were dyuerse grete Lords and valiaunt Knyghts armed and prepayred to juste in the honoure of that feest, which to se the Kyng's grace with the sayde Ambassadours reasorted to his galarye beyng richely hanged and appoynted, and whyther also came my saide lady Mary Pryncesse of Castile, and the prynesse of Wales, accompanied with a goodly nombre of fayre Ladyes. Howe well horsed and harneissed, howe richely appoynted were the said lords and knyghts with paulyons, trappers, bards, and other ornaments & appareyll of goldsmyth werke, clothe of golde, silke, and other ryche garnysshyng, and with belles of siluer, and many diuerse deuises, it were to longe a processe to wryte. For by the space of thre dayes these Justis continued, and day by day every lorde and knyght had dyuersitie and chaunge of appareills every day richer than other."

"Thus with dyuerse and many other goodly sports passed the tyme by the day; and at night sumptuous Banketts were made. Where at some tyme the kyngs grace hauynge the sayd Ambassadours with hym accompanied with a goodly nombre of ladyes were present. And at oon of the whiche Banketts the sayde Ambassadours delyuered thre goodly and right riche tokens and Juells to my sayd Lady Marye, oon from Th'emperoure conteinyng an orient rubye and a large and a fayre diamond garnysshed with great perles, the other from the yonge Prynce, which was a  $\kappa$ . for Karolus, garnysshed with diamondes and perles wherein these wordes were written: *Maria optimam partem elegit que non auferetur ab ea*, and the thirde from the Duchesse of Sauoye wherein was a goodly Balas garnyshed with perles. Att whiche banket there was no cuppe, salte, ne layer, but it was of fyne golde, ne yet noo plate of vessayll but it was gilte.

"There lacked no disguysyngs, morisks, nor entreluds made and appareilled in the beste & richest maner.



“ That nyght the Lord Bargs, on the behalfe and by the cōmaundement of Th’Emperoure and the Kyngs good sonne the yong Prynce, made instant request and desyre that it wolde please his grace to electe and make the sayd Prynce knyght of his noble order of the Gartier, whereunto the Kyngs grace with right herty wyll graunted. And not oonly hath caused hym to be elected as oon of the companyons and knyghts of that ordre, but also entendeth within brief tyme to send vnto the said Prince the Gartier with all other ornaments belongynge to the sayd ordre.

“ And whan all matiers concerning the comyssion of the said Ambassadors were accomplished, for asmoche as the feste of Crist-mas approched, they desired to take theyr leve of the Kings Highness to retourne to their countraye.

“ And albeit the Kyngs grace was greatly desyrous that they should have lenger taryed, yet at theyr instaunte poursuyt his grace despeched them. And with meruaylous great and honourable gifts of goodly plate rewarded theym, besyds horses, hobbies, hawks, hounds, and other goodly pleasures.”

It need hardly be added here that the King of Castile mentioned in this Tract was afterwards better known to Europe as the Emperor Charles the Fifth.

Among the Cotton Manuscripts, a copy of Henry the Seventh’s Letter to the Mayor and Aldermen of London is still preserved, announcing the conclusion of the marriage in 1507, and directing rejoicings with bon-fires and otherwise “ in the best manner :”<sup>b</sup> and another Letter is preserved in the same Collection, an original, with the King’s monogram at the top, addressed to John Wiltshire, the comptroller of Calais, ordering him to communicate with the Lady Margaret of Savoy, concerning the meeting at Calais to settle the marriage; dated Greenwich, May the 24th.<sup>c</sup>

For reasons, however, which are not explained, the marriage was broken off. In 1513, the 5th of Henry the Eighth, another treaty

<sup>b</sup> MS. Cotton. Titus, B. i. p. 4.

<sup>c</sup> MS. Cotton. Vesp. C. vi.

was made, in which the union was again proposed ; but that failed also : and in the same year Mary became the wife of Louis the Twelfth of France. On the decease of her husband in 1515, she returned to England, and married Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

For very obvious reasons there can be little doubt that the Tract I have here described was very carefully suppressed ; more especially as Mary is twice stiled in it *Princess of Castile*. From a stain on the margin of the leaves there is every appearance of their having once formed the interior of a book-cover, a circumstance to which it is probable we owe the preservation of this singular rarity.

I am, dear Sir,

Sincerely yours,

HENRY ELLIS.

BRITISH MUSEUM,  
May 23, 1814.

SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. V.P. F. R. S.  
&c. &c. &c.



VII. *Some Remarks on the Original Seal belonging to the Abbey of Wilton.* By FRANCIS DOUCE, Esq. F.S.A.

Read June 9th, 1814.



I HAVE the honour of laying before the Society some remarks on the *original Seal* belonging to the abbey of Wilton; and when its great antiquity, the stile of its workmanship, and the quality and character of the person whom it represents, are considered, it cannot fail of being regarded as an article of much interest and curiosity.

A wax impression of this seal is appended to a charter preserved in the Harleian collection; and another to a deed remaining in the Exchequer office: both of which are in some degree mutilated. Of the latter impression, an engraving had been made several years since by the laudable zeal of our worthy member, Craven Ord, Esq.; and from these materials, which united furnish a compleat copy of the



seal, the drawing now exhibited has been constructed by the accurate and elegant pencil of Mr. Alexander.

The Harleian deed is prior in point of date, and purports to be a charter of confirmation from Matilda de la Mare, abbess of Wilton, to John Colewine, of two ferlings of land formerly held by his father in La Blakelaunde, in the parish of Widepole, temp. Edw. III.<sup>a</sup>

The Exchequer deed bears date the 18th of September, 1526, and is an obligation on the part of the then abbess Cecily Willoughby to Thomas cardinal of York, for a visitation legantine.

The difficulty lies in appropriating this curious seal to its right owner, certainly an abbess of the monastery of Wilton, who is thus described on the face of the seal itself: SIGILL. EADGYÐE. REGAL. ADELPHE. She appears in the habit of her order, the Benedictine, and holds in her left-hand what seems to be a book, probably intended for the Gospels, whilst the right is uplifted as in the act of giving benediction.

As it is by no means requisite, on this occasion, to enter upon any details concerning the history of Wilton abbey, I shall beg leave to state, briefly, the substance of what Bishop Tanner has collected. He informs us, that King Egbert, at the instance of his sister Saint Alburga, was the first founder of a nunnery at Wilton for twelve religious virgins, besides a prioress; that this building had originally been a college or chantry for secular priests, erected about the year 773 by Wulstan Duke of Wiltshire; that in 871, King Alfred built a new nunnery on the site of the royal palace at Wilton, and removed the nuns from the former to this new house, which consisted of twenty-six nuns, and was dedicated to Saint Mary and Saint Bartholomew; and that King Edward the Elder and King Edgar were great benefactors to the monastery; the latter for the sake of his natural daughter Saint Edith, a nun, and, as some say, abbess here, who was afterwards canonized, and became the patron saint of this abbey.<sup>b</sup>

It will be proper, in the first place, to consider the claim to the

<sup>a</sup> Harl. Charters, 45 A. 36. MS. 436.

<sup>b</sup> Tanner, Not. Monast. Wilt. xxxvii. And see Leland, Coll. vol. I. p. 67.

ownership of the seal in question on the part of the above-mentioned Eadgitha or Edith, the natural daughter of King Edgar by the Lady Wulftruda, or Wilfrid. Of this latter person, Capgrave relates, that preferring a life of chastity and retirement to the temporal honours intended for her by the king, she was made a nun of Wilton by the hands of Saint Ethelwold; and on account of her great sanctity and exemplary conduct, became afterwards abbess of that monastery.<sup>c</sup> Here she brought up and educated her daughter Edith, who likewise took the veil, and at the age of fifteen was appointed by her father to the government of three monasteries: but nothing could induce her to leave Wilton, at which place she preferred remaining under Wilfrid's maternal care. After founding the church of Saint Denis, she died at the age of twenty-three, A. D. 984, leaving her mother surviving.<sup>d</sup>

This Edith is usually denominated *the younger*, to distinguish her from her aunt Edith, the sister of King Edgar, and abbess of Pollesworth, in Warwickshire; though some writers make this lady the sister, and even the daughter of King Ethelwold: so great is the confusion of history in Saxon times.<sup>e</sup>

With respect to the monasteries of which Edith was constituted abbess by her father Edgar there is some uncertainty, and this proceeds from the discrepance of the accounts that remain. Capgrave has named two only of the three which he alludes to, and those are Winchester and Barking. Cressey, a diligent and too much neglected collector of Saxon ecclesiastical history, though he professedly follows Capgrave in his account of Edith, has thought fit to substitute Wilton for

<sup>c</sup> It appears from a charter granted by Edgar to Wilton Monastery, A. D. 974, being the 15th of his reign and the 34th of his age, that Wilfrid was then abbess. Harl. MS. 436.

<sup>d</sup> Capgrave, *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, fo. cii. Bromton, speaking of the translation of the body of the murdered Saint Edward to Wilton, (in the text, by mistake, as I conceive, called Winton), states, that Wilfrid was at that time abbess of the monastery, her daughter Edith being with her. This was in 982. See *Decem Script.* col. 875. Capgrave relates the matter rather differently in his *Life of Saint Edward the Martyr*.

<sup>e</sup> She has also been made the daughter of King Egbert.



Winton;<sup>f</sup> but he is not the only writer who confounds these places. I have not had the means of collating any manuscript copy, if indeed any such remain in this country, of the life of Saint Edith by Goscelin, a writer in the reign of Henry I., whose work was literally transcribed and used by Capgrave without acknowledgment, and has been reprinted in the valuable collections of the Bollandists.<sup>g</sup> There is extant, however, in the Cotton Library, a very long metrical composition on the lives and actions of the founders and benefactors of Wilton abbey from King Egbert, and more particularly on those of Wilfrid and her daughter Edith.<sup>h</sup> It has been compiled with great industry from various authors, by some anonymous monk in the reign of Henry VI. Leland has preserved some extracts from it, wherein mention is made of the three monasteries in question, which are stated to be *Wilton*, Barking, and Winchester.<sup>i</sup> But let us hear the original author:

“ Wherfore the kyng her fader graunded also therto  
To sacre hurre Abbas of the Abbay of Wyuchestre,  
Of Berkyng, & of *Wylton also*;  
And zet hur age nas tho bot ffyftene wyntre.  
That mayde onswered tho full mekely  
To the kyng hur fader so dere,  
And sayde, syrre, y nam not worthy  
For to bere so gret a cure  
Bot the bysshopus nold turne non other weys,  
Bot sayden that he<sup>k</sup> shuld be for any thyng  
Ben Abbas of thuse thre abbays,  
And have the covent in hurre governyng  
The abbey of Wynchestre tho securly.  
Seynt Adelwolde hymself repared that zere  
In the worshepe of owre lady,

<sup>f</sup> Cressey's Church Hist. p. 886.

<sup>g</sup> Leland has preserved an extract from him. See Collect. Vol. III. p. 168.

<sup>h</sup> Cotton MS. Faust. B. III.

<sup>i</sup> Leland Coll. Vol. III. p. 219.

<sup>k</sup> In this MS. the Saxon *he* is used for *she*.



And made Seynt Ede furst Abbas ther;  
 And therfore that mayde curteys & hend  
 Durst not azeyn stond hurre godfadris hest,  
 Bot grauntede hym tho at the hend  
 And sayde syrre, dothe by me as zow thyngyth best.  
*Seynt Adelwold sacrede hurre tho anon*  
*Of Seynt Mary Abbay of Wynchestre in to Abbas;*  
*Of Berkyng also, & eke of Wylton;<sup>1</sup>*  
*For of thuse thre Abbays Abbas he was*  
 This heyze state he toke mekelyche azeyn hurr wyll  
 And of thuse thre abbays abbas ymade he ys:  
 Bot ever he dwelte at Wylton styll,  
 He nold not from hurre moder depart y wys;  
 For leyer he hadde to abyde ryzt there  
 Undur hurre moder chasteysyng,  
 Then ony state gretter howherellys to ber  
 Of chesseresse or of heyze governyng:  
*Bot two sprytwall ladyus he ordeynede tho*  
*To occupy that worshipfull state in hurre absens,*  
*And kepe the coventes of thuse Abbays two;*  
 And of gode levyng hee zaf hem gret evidens,  
 Bot he hurreself dwelte at Wylton styll  
 W<sup>t</sup> hurr moder, at y sayde zowe ere:  
 For hurr moder to serve was holyche hurr wyll  
 Well lever then ony other gret state to bere,  
 And also for he was norysshut up in that place  
 And furst yordryd he was ther therto."

It is to be observed that this manuscript account is unfortunately imperfect in that part which related to Wilfrid's prior appointment to the abbacy of Wilton; but this chasm is supplied in the other accounts: and we may venture to conclude, on their authority, that Wilfrid was made abbess long before her daughter Edith's death, and was so even at her entrance into the monastery. And although our monkish rhymester has provided substitutes for two only out of the

<sup>1</sup> William of Worcester, in his Itinerary, says that Edgar made Edith abbess of Wilton. p. 81, edit. Nasmith, where the name is misprinted *Edwina*.

three monasteries, thereby leaving room for a conjecture that Edith assumed the government of that of Wilton herself; yet we have the fact stated otherwise by Goscelin, an earlier and better authority, who says, that she provided *three* substitutes. In either case, we may infer that Edith could not actually assume the management of Wilton, both from her tender age and from her mother's prior appointment; and therefore, that her father Edgar could only intend to compliment her with a nominal and honorary title, or perhaps with the reversion of the office. But Wilfrid long survived her daughter, and all the lives of her that I have consulted agree in calling her abbess of Wilton, generally. The Bollandists also, whose excellent discrimination of fact from fable is at all times most worthy of attention, are decisive in their opinion that Edith never actually presided as abbess of Wilton; and that Wilfrid continued in office after the death of Edith is frequently demonstrated in the rhyming manuscript.

On some of the grounds stated in these authorities one might certainly feel inclined to doubt whether Edgar's daughter be the person alluded to on the seal before us; but on the other hand it is to be considered:

1. That the title of *Abbess* is not found on the seal, but merely that of *royal Nun* or *Sister*.

2. That the extreme regard and respect bestowed on this young person in her life-time, and the legendary accounts of what was supposed to happen after her decease, might have occasioned a preference in her favour as to the mode of perpetuating her memory on the abbey seal, contrary to the usual practice observed in the construction of monastic seals. She continued to be honoured long after her death. In many of the calendars prefixed to the English service books, and especially in those belonging to Salisbury, her name is inserted on the 17th of September; but I believe never as an abbess: and in the Sarum missal there is an office appropriated to her.

3. That it would be extremely difficult, and perhaps impossible, to find any other owner for the seal. The only person, indeed, who can be adduced or thought of on the occasion, is the wife of Edward



the Confessor; and it may therefore be necessary to devote some small attention to any claim that she may be supposed to have.

Mr. Camden, in his account of Wilton, informs us that in the life of Edward the Confessor it is said that whilst he was erecting the monastery of St. Peter's Westminster, his wife Editha began building an abbey of stone in lieu of the wooden one at Wilton, where she had been educated.<sup>m</sup> To what life of the Confessor he here refers I have not been able to discover; but he also mentions, generally, from the annals, that King Edgar's daughter Editha was abbess of Wilton. Speed, in his Chronicle, speaking of Editha's separation from her husband Edward, states that he committed her prisoner to the monastery of Wilton; but I conceive that this historian has, through some mistake, substituted *Wilton* for *Warewell*, to which place, and not to Wilton, *all* the early writers say she was sent by Edward. It is, however, nowhere pretended that Editha became a nun during any part of her life, being afterwards restored to her husband's favour; and consequently the title of *royal sister* on the seal is adverse to any claim to it on her part.

The next question is with regard to the *antiquity* of the seal before us; and though I am not able to demonstrate that it is actually of the time of Edgar, I am unwilling to concede that it falls much short of that time; and I am certainly disposed to maintain that it is the original seal of Wilton abbey.

It might, perhaps, be necessary on this occasion to enter at large on the interesting subject of the antiquity of the use of seals in this country, and to attempt something more than has already been done by others; and though I am quite satisfied that without any great efforts a great deal more might be effected, it would very ill become me to venture on such an undertaking, which I shall therefore consign to abler hands. But it is incumbent on me at present to bring together a few facts and arguments for the purpose of shewing why the Wilton seal cannot belong to a period much later than the reign of King Edgar.

<sup>m</sup> Camden's Britannia, edit. 1623.



The very general use of seals or signets in some form or other among all the civilized nations of antiquity<sup>a</sup> would render it a very difficult matter to account for the total inattention to this practice in any one of them. We still have remaining the bulls of lead and other metals used by some of the first Christian pontiffs of Rome, who seem only to have imitated the temporal sovereigns of the Roman empire at a very early period; for we have evidence of signets used by the Emperors Trajan, &c.<sup>o</sup> Many of the seals of the French kings, even of the first race, are also preserved; and although doubts and scruples have arisen concerning the authenticity of the seal of Childeric found in his tomb at Tournay, and now in the royal library at Paris, every suspicion on the subject must instantly be removed from the mind of any skilful person who will take the trouble of examining this curious relic, and who is aware of the numerous collateral evidences in its favour. As to the seal of Dagobert in Montfaucon, it is false on the face of it, and required not the arguments to prove it so that are quoted from Heineccius in the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, Vol. IV. 103. The German emperors were likewise in the habit of sealing charters as early as the tenth century, and many of their seals of that and the ensuing centuries are still extant. The Counts of Flanders too began the same practice about the same period; and I shall beg leave particularly to notice the seal of Arnulphus Earl of Flanders, in the year 941, because it exhibits the word *SIGNVM*, and proves that this term, though frequently used by the Saxon kings to express any mark or signature, a circumstance on which great stress has been laid by the adversaries of the Saxon seals, denoted also a real and common seal.<sup>p</sup>

But to come more immediately to the point, which is the use of seals in England before the reign of Edward the Confessor. It is doubtless at once easy and convenient to maintain generally that all seals purporting to be antecedent to the above period are forgeries; but it would be extremely difficult to demonstrate the veracity of

<sup>a</sup> See many instances in the Old and New Testament.

<sup>o</sup> Ficoroni de plumbeis antiquorum numism. tab. II. & IV.

<sup>p</sup> Uredius de Sigill. Comit. Flandriæ, fo. l. c.

such an assertion. It may be a good canon to suspect and examine every thing; but it is certainly a bad one to reject entirely whatever may appear suspicious. We should rather feel surprised at the preservation of so many ancient seals, than conclude that others never existed of which we happen to know nothing. True it is, that very plausible and ingenious arguments against the existence of seals in England during Saxon times have been brought forward by Spelman, Madox, Hiekes, and other persons whose opinions are deserving of the highest respect and attention; but they have been answered, and most satisfactorily, by other men as learned and skilful as themselves, and who had, besides, the advantage of seeing in foreign archives, which, for obvious causes, are generally richer than our own, multitudes of very ancient charters and other documents. I shall beg leave to notice a few sealed charters of very considerable importance on the present occasion. The first of these is preserved at the abbey of Saint Denis, and is a charter of Berthwold, Duke of Hastings and Pevensey, who about the year 790 built a monastery at Riderfield in Sussex, and dedicated it to the above saint. Doublet, the historian of the abbey of Saint Denis, says, that this charter had a waxen impression of a seal, with the effigies of Berthwold appendent to it, and entire<sup>a</sup>. At the same place was preserved a confirmation of this charter by King Offa, mentioned also by Doublet, as well as by Felibien in his account of the abbey.<sup>r</sup> The former speaks of a seal belonging to this deed with the king's portrait, which was probably lost in Felibien's time, who has not mentioned it; but it was seen by the learned and accurate Peiresc, who, in a letter to Camden, says that he had transmitted an impression of it, taken from the original, to Sir Robert Cotton. He describes it as of the size of a Jacobus, and speaks of the king's face as without a beard, and bearing a resemblance to the portrait of Trajan.<sup>s</sup> In the Harleian MS. N° 66, which seems to be a

<sup>a</sup> Doublet *Antiq. de l'Abbaie de S. Denis*, p. 718.

<sup>r</sup> Doublet. p. 719. Felibien *Hist. de l'Abb. de S. Denis*. Append. XLII.

<sup>s</sup> Camden's *Epistolæ*, p. 255.



collection of ancient charters made by Sir Robert Cotton, many of which are copied in his own hand, this charter is mentioned with a note of the above communication by Peiresc, and a remark that the transcriber had chosen to place it under the year 791 rather than that of its date 797, because Offa was dead in 797, and because the thirty-third year of his reign, also a part of the date, corresponded with the former year. Now, though on account of this date a hasty argument might be raised against the authenticity of the charter, Sir Robert Cotton, who was an excellent judge in these matters, has not treated it with suspicion; and, after all, the date might be a mistake on the part of the transcriber: besides, there is some discordance in the historical dates of Offa's reign and death. Neither of these charters has any reference to the seal, but such omission is no evidence against their authenticity. It were unreasonable to expect uniformity in charters; and numerous instances of similar omission in later times, when seals were in common use, might be adduced.

There was likewise preserved at Saint Denis a charter of King Edgar, which is published by both the before-mentioned historians of that abbey. At the bottom was an incision for the wax to pass through the parchment, and thus to receive the impression of the seal, which was not suspended in the usual manner. The head is said to have been in profile, but it is not stated whether it was that of the king himself: it might have been from some antique gem. The very learned authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatie*, certainly as good judges as any of their predecessors in this sort of knowledge, relate that they examined this charter with critical attention, and were quite satisfied with respect to its authenticity.<sup>†</sup>

The charters of King Edgar and Saint Dunstan given to Westminster have been attacked with all the learning and ingenuity peculiar to Dr. Hickes; but their authenticity has been ably defended by the skilful foreigners just alluded to; and I am persuaded, that if due attention be given to their excellent arguments, no doubt will remain

<sup>†</sup> Nouv. Traité de Diplom. tom. IV. p. 204.



in the minds of every impartial inquirer. I shall beg permission to hazard a single remark on this occasion. Edgar's charter says: "*Manus nostræ subscriptionis subtus eam decrevimus roborare et de sigillo nostro jussimus sigillare.*" Dr. Hickes contends that "*sigillo*" refers to a monogram; but the use of monograms by our Saxon kings in charters may be doubted; besides which, in Saint Dunstan's charter the seal was evidently a ring.

Although a great deal more evidence and argument might be collected in favour of the use of seals in Saxon times, I shall content myself with the mention only of two other ancient seals, which are, however, highly deserving of attention. The first is that of the abbey of Saint Alban, cut in ivory, and still preserved in the British Museum. This has every appearance of great antiquity, and may be regarded as one of the most curious original seals now extant. It is in all probability the seal alluded to by Walsingham, when he relates that during the disputes which arose under the reign of Richard II. between the townsmen and the abbot of Saint Alban, the former having forcibly compelled the abbot to execute a charter, the wax adhered to the seal in so miraculous a manner that it could not be detached; thereby indicating, that the saint was unwilling that the townsmen should have the mastery. He adds, that the figure of the saint on the seal, holding a palm in his hand, was of the most ancient workmanship, "*vctustissimo opere,*" an expression that entirely accords with the stile and present appearance of this very curious relic.<sup>s</sup>

The other seal is that of Durham, published by Dr. Smith in p. 721 of his edition of Bede. It is very much in the style of the Wilton seal, and, I think, of equal antiquity; for though the Doctor has called it the seal of the *Convent*, in which case it cannot be older than the reign of William the Conqueror, I do not see why it might not have belonged to the cathedral itself in earlier times.

If Dr. Hickes and the other objectors could have expected suc-

<sup>s</sup> Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* p. 261, edit. Camden.

cessfully to demonstrate that the Saxons used no seals, it was necessary for them to annihilate not only the numerous early seals of the German emperors and French kings, but even the gems and other sigillatory implements of the ancients. It would, indeed, have been a remarkable circumstance, that during a period wherein many of the European monarchs were continuing the immemorial practice of affixing seals to public instruments, the Saxon sovereigns of England, who were not inferior in knowledge and civilization to their contemporaries, and who borrowed many of their customs from Italy and France, should have entirely suspended a practice so well known and established. It is much less extraordinary that a very small number of Saxon seals should be remaining, than that, all circumstances considered, they should not have been frequently used. All that the objectors have been able to prove is, that a great many Saxon instruments were destitute of seals; that some were forged with seals in Norman times, and that the words "Signum" and "Sigillum" were often used to express the mere signature of a cross, which nevertheless was the representative of a seal.

It is undoubtedly true that the Anglo-Norman monks did manage some of their forgeries with great unskilfulness, especially with respect to dates; but it may be observed, that if there were no seals before the time of Edward the Confessor, they could not have been wholly ignorant of such a fact; and in that case it would have been at once useless and absurd to forge seals when it was so much easier to have affixed the simple form of a cross. But it were easy enough to reverse the argument: for when King Henry II. was examining the privileges of the abbot of Saint Alban, some of the bystanders objected to the validity of a charter of King Offa, because it wanted a seal,<sup>x</sup> and this could not very well be ascribed to their ignorance of Saxon customs. Indeed, these reasonings have frequently a double edge, adapted to both sides of a question, and are therefore of little or no use in discussions of this nature. It may likewise be observed, that the words

<sup>x</sup> Matt. Paris, vit. Abb. S. Albani, p. 79.



of Matthew Paris, together with what is stated by Ingulphus concerning the usage of the Saxon kings to put the sign of the cross to their charters, by no means prove the custom to have been general and exclusive. Justice to Ingulphus requires that we accept his words, on which so much stress has been laid by the opposers of Saxon seals, in a confined and particular sense, and as applicable to the practice of his own times; because the seal of Edward the Confessor, of which he could not possibly be ignorant, is in direct opposition to his statement, if otherwise taken. It might as well be contended that Edward's seal is a forgery, because many of his charters are without it; but the practice of executing charters and other instruments with the sign of a cross only is well known to have continued long after the Conquest, when the use of seals was firmly established.

I shall beg leave to finish this Memoir with a few remarks on some particulars that more immediately relate to the seal before us. And first of it as an abbey seal.

Mabillon confesses his ignorance when abbatial seals originally came into use, but he thinks they may be traced to the eleventh century.<sup>y</sup> The archives of the abbey of Fulda certainly supply many seals of that period.<sup>z</sup> None that are of a pointed oval form are supposed to be older than the eleventh century,<sup>a</sup> and therefore our seal of Editha being round, may have a claim to greater antiquity. This is the case also with the Durham seal.

Independently of the Saxon costume that is manifest in the figure of the female on our seal, the introduction of the word *ADELPHE* is a proof of its high antiquity. Every member of this Society who is conversant with Saxon charters will immediately recollect the frequent use of Greek words in them. We often meet with the following expressions, among many others of a similar nature: *Edgar Basileus Anglorum—Cosmi Christicoli—Totius cosmi fabricæ conditor—*

<sup>y</sup> Mabillon de re Diplom. p. 135.

<sup>z</sup> Nouv. Traité de Diplom. tom. IV. p. 344.

<sup>a</sup> Nouv. Traité de Diplom. tom. IV. p. 53.



In onomate summi Kyrion—Regnante theomene Eoum—Hoc tau-mate agie crucis roboravi—Immunitatis syngrafa—Enarrihtmata liquescunt caraxata. But this practice seems to have been borrowed from the bulls of the Roman pontiffs; not that the Greek language was unknown to the Saxon ecclesiastics, many of whom were great proficient in it. Theodorus, a Greek by birth, elected archbishop of Canterbury about 670, brought many Greek books into England, among which was a beautiful copy of Homer. He introduced the study of the Greek language; and one of his pupils was Tobias Bishop of Rochester, who is said to have been extremely well skilled in it.<sup>b</sup> Bede is another example of the kind, and it is well known that the Greek tongue was cultivated in France under the second race of kings.<sup>c</sup>

The letters on the seal bear likewise ample testimony to its great antiquity. They are such as were commonly used during the reign of Edgar, and continued to be so to a short time after the Conquest.

But there is a peculiarity which not only renders this seal extremely interesting, but furnishes at the same time a strong argument that it was fabricated in Editha's life-time. We usually find on monastic seals either the figure of a patron saint, or of some abbot or abbess of the place; but here the inscription calls it the seal of Editha; not, according to usual custom, as abbess of the monastery, but merely as a nun belonging to it. This may be accounted for if we regard her rank as the daughter of a king, her father's great love for her, and the singular attachment and protection manifested towards her by Saint Ethelwald and Saint Dunstan.

On the whole, therefore, I submit that this is not only the first seal ever used by the monastery of Wilton, but that for the reasons which I have had the honour of stating, it is the earliest monastic seal that

<sup>b</sup> Godwin de Præsul. pp. 41, 42. 521. edit. 1743, folio.

<sup>c</sup> The Abbé le Boeuf has made some very interesting collections relating to the cultivation of the Greek and Roman Classics in France during the ninth century. See his "Recueil de divers Ecrits pour servir d'éclaircissemens à l'Histoire de France, &c." Paris, 1738. 12°. tom. II. p. 10.

has hitherto been published; that it furnishes materials for refuting the prejudices of many learned men against the antiquity of the use of seals in England, and that it is in all respects pre-eminently entitled to the consideration of this Society.

FRANCIS DOUCE.

June 9th, 1814.

VIII. On "*St. Martin's Rings*." By FRANCIS COHEN, Esq.  
F. S. A.

Read June 16th, 1814.

IN the passages collected by Mr. Brand in the following note, a term occurs, the signification of which does not appear to have been hitherto ascertained.

"In '*Whimsies; or, a new Cast of Characters*,' 12mo. Lond. 1631, the unknown author, in his description of a pedlar, Part ii. p. 21, has the following passage: Can it allude to the custom of exchanging betrothing rings? '*St. Martin's Rings* and counterfeit bracelets are commodities of infinite consequence: they will passe for current at a may-pole, and purchase a favor from their May Marian.'<sup>a</sup>

"In a rare Tract, entitled "*The Compter's Commonwealth*," 4to. 1617, p. 28, is the following passage: "This kindnesse is not like alchimy or *St. Martin's Rings*, that are faire to the eye, and have a riche outside; but if a man should breake them asunders, and looke into them, they are nothing but brasse and copper." So also in "*Plaine Percivall, the Peace Maker of England*," b. l. 4to. no date, sign. B ij. 6, we read, "I doubt whether al be gold that glisteneth, sith *St. Martin's rings* be but copper within, though they be gilt without, sayes the goldsmith."

As the reputed author of the work which I have just quoted has not offered any explanation, I submit, that it is highly probable that these rings may have taken their name from the circumstance of the makers or venders of them residing within the precinct of the collegiate church of St. Martin's-le-Grand; a sanctuary which, as is familiarly known, possessed very extensive franchises and immunities. The gilding and silvering of locks, *rings* [firmalx, anelx], and other articles of a similar nature made of copper or latten [faitz de

<sup>a</sup> Observ. on Popular Antiquities, vol. II, p. 26.



cupre ou laton], having been prohibited by the statute 5 Hen. IV. c. 13, under what was then a heavy penalty: the "disloyal artificers," against whom this enactment was made, appear to have taken refuge in that hallowed district, where they were enabled to labour in their vocation unmolested by the marshal or the sheriff. This may be inferred from 3 Edw. IV. c. 4, by which it was declared unlawful to import various articles of foreign manufacture, including "*rings*" of "*gilded copper or laten;*" but with an express declaration that the act was not to extend to, or be prejudicial or hurtful to "Robert Styllington, clerk," dean of the king's free chapel of "St. Martin le Graunt de Londres," nor to his successors, nor to any "*persone ou persones demurantz ou enhabitantz, on qe en-apres demuront ou enhabitront deinz la seintuarie et procinct de mesme la chapell et specialement deinz la venelle apelle comunement St. Martin's Lane.*" In the same manner another statute<sup>b</sup> made under the reign of the same monarch, which prohibits the gilding of certain silver wares, and the manufacture of articles of adulterated metal, contains a like reservation of the franchises of the dean of St. Martin's-le-Grand, and of his colony of outlaws. And a more direct proof is to be drawn from the ordinance made in the Star Chamber in the 36th year of Henry the Sixth, for the regulation of that sanctuary, by which it is declared that "no workers of counterfeit cheynes, beades, broaches, owches, *rings*, cups, and spoons silvered," should be suffered therein.

FRANCIS COHEN.

<sup>b</sup> 17 Edw. IV. c. 1.

IX. *Copy of an Original Letter from Cardinal Wolsey, immediately upon his Disgrace, to Gardiner, afterwards Bishop of Winchester. Communicated by HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary, in a Letter to NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. Secretary.*

Read 12th May, 1814.

DEAR SIR,

British Museum, May 10th, 1814.

SOME time ago I had the pleasure of communicating to the Society the Copy of a Letter from Cardinal Wolsey to Thomas Cromwell, immediately on his disgrace; dated from Esher in Surrey. I have since laid my hand upon another of the Cardinal's Letters, addressed to Gardiner, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, preserved among the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum. It adds another to the many proofs of which we are in possession, that Wolsey clung to life even with a fallen fortune and a broken heart.

Believe me,

Very truly your's,

HENRY ELLIS.

NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq.

Sec. S. A. &c. &c. &c.

MS. LANSDOWNE. ROYAL LETTERS, NUM. 12.

"My owne goode Mastyr Secretary, aftyr my moste herty recommendations, with lycke thanks for your goodness towards me, thes shalbe to advirtyse yow that I have beyn informyd by my trusty frende Thomas Crommuell that ye have sygnified unto hym to my synguler consolacions howe that the Kyngs Hyghnes, mouyd with pity and compassyon, and of his excellent goodnes and cheryti consydering the lamentable condicion and stat that I stand yn, hath wyllyd yow w<sup>t</sup> other lords and mastyr of hys honorable cownsell to intende to the perfygattyng and absolvyng, without further tract or delay, of myn end and appoyntment, and that my pardon shulde be made in the most ample



forme that my Cownsell cowde devyse; for thys the Kyngs moste gracyous remembraunce, procedyng of hymself, I accompte my sylf not onely moste bowndyn to serve and pray for the preservation of hys moste Royal majeste, but also thancke God that ye have occasyon govyn unto you to be a Sollycyter and setter forth of such thyngs as do and shall conserve my said ende, in the makyng and compownyng whereof myn assuryd trust ys that ye wele shewe the love and affecōn wych ye have and bere towards me your old lover and frende. So declaryng your sylf ther in that the world may perceīve that by your good meanys the Kyng ys the better goode Lorde unto me; and that, nowe, newly in maner commyng to the world, ther may be such respect had to my poore degre, olde age, and longe contynuyd servys, as shal be to the Kyngs hygh honor and your gret prayse and laude, wych undowttydly shal folowe yf ye extende yowr benyvolence towards me and mine, perceīving that by your wysdom and dexteryte I shalbe releuyd and in this my calamyte holpyn. At the reverens therfor of God, myn owne goode M. Secretary and refuge, nowe set to your hande that I may come to a laudable ende and repose: seyng that I may be furnyshyd aftyr suche a sorte and maner as I may ende my short tyme and lyff to the honor of Cryst's Church and the Prince: and, besydys my dayly prayer and true hert, I shal so requyte your kyndnes as ye shal haue cause to thyncke the same to be wel employed, lycke as my seyde trusty frende shal more amply shewe unto yow to whom yt may please yow to give for me credens and loving audience. And I shall pray for the increase of your honor. Wryttyn at Asher with the tremylling hand and hevy hart of your assuryd lover and bedysman,

T. CAR<sup>lis</sup> EBOR'."

" To the rygth honorable and my synguler  
goode frende Mastyr Secretary."



X. *A Letter from W. E. ROUSE BUGHTON, Esq. F. R. S. to the Rev. STEPHEN WESTON, B. D. respecting some Egyptian Antiquities.*

Read 19th May, 1814.

SIR,

**D**URING my travels in Upper Egypt, in the course of the year 1811, I had the good fortune to meet with a mummy, in a catacomb near Thebes, which appeared never to have been opened before, containing some writing upon papyrus in a state of perfect preservation; and as these writings are but rarely found in mummies, I felt great anxiety to bring the one which fell into my hands safe to Great Britain. For this purpose I had a tin box made for holding it, in order to prevent it from being crushed amongst my packages. I myself proceeded by land to Constantinople; but having sent my baggage by sea, it was unluckily soaked by salt water, and the tin case corroded, so as greatly to injure the manuscript. I have, however, collected some of the fragments, and made accurate copies of them (Pl. I. II.), which I have now the honour of presenting to the Society of Antiquaries; conceiving that they may afford additional specimens of the ancient Egyptian character, of which I believe there are not many in Great Britain, and may possibly contribute to the assistance of scientific men, in various parts of Europe, who are giving their attention to that interesting country, established by all profane and sacred history to have been the birth-place of science and wisdom.

In offering this little tribute to the acceptance of the Society of Antiquaries, I am happy to accompany it with a Paper of remarks from the hand of a learned friend, who has allowed me to benefit by his extensive reading and correct research.

I send also two small sketches (Pl. IV.): one, representing a gold earring, I procured at Athens; the other, a beautiful Egyptian idol of gold,

with a hieroglyphical inscription at the bottom of it. This curiosity was found at Dendera, and appears to be different from any of those idols which have hitherto been exhibited by European travellers. Mr. Pallin, the Swedish minister at Constantinople, who has entered very largely into the study of Egyptian antiquities, held it to be unique, and in many respects unlike any he had ever seen.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble Servant,

W. E. ROUSE BOUGHTON.

13, DEVONSHIRE PLACE,

April 24th, 1814.

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THE fragments of papyrus, of which an exact copy is here given, have suffered materially from an accidental injury, but have not therefore lost all their value, since they remain equally capable of affording specimens of the mode of writing, employed by the Egyptians, with more entire manuscripts, and, even in their original form, would not have been capable of being completely deciphered, in the present state of our knowledge of the subject. They exhibit two varieties of the old Egyptian character, which appear, however, to differ from each other rather in the size and distance of the letters than in their form: nor is it certain that the Egyptians ever employed more than one species of alphabetical characters, although there is great reason to suppose that these characters were more or less mixed with hieroglyphics on different occasions. In one of the manuscripts published by Denon (*Voyage*, pl. 137), the greater part of the characters are manifestly compendious imitations of hieroglyphics, although it is not impossible that some alphabetical characters may be mixed with them: but this manuscript is sufficiently distinguished from others of the kind by the vertical direction of the lines, which is the most common form of hieroglyphic inscriptions, though they



frequently run from right to left, and sometimes, according to Zoega, from left to right. Specimens of other Egyptian manuscripts have been exhibited by Rigorde, Montfaucon, and Caylus, from linen bandages of mummies: Denon has published two others from papyrus. There are two rolls of papyrus in tolerable preservation in the gallery of the British Museum, and one in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries; and it is said that many others have lately been brought to Paris. It may be observed, in the annexed extracts, that these manuscripts exhibit a greater diversity of characters than could be expected from the use of any one alphabet; but Mr. Akerblad does not hesitate to consider those, which he has seen, as written in the same character which is exhibited in the stone of Rosetta: and if we allow the truth of his conclusions respecting this inscription, it must be confessed that the letters employed in it have been combined and diversified in such a manner, as to present appearances of a much greater number. The specimens of the Zendish, the Sassanidian, and the Phenician alphabets, (Pl.III.) which have been subjoined, on the authorities of Anquetil, Silvestre de Sacy, and Henley, will serve to show not only how nearly some of the forms, assigned to the different letters by Akerblad, agree with those which are found in the oldest alphabets of the neighbouring countries, but also how great a diversity was allowed in these alphabets to the characters appropriated to each letter, and to the values assigned to each character. It is useless to enquire whether the common alphabet of the manuscripts and the inscription is more properly denominated the epistolographic, as most authors would probably term it, or the hieratic, as Akerblad is inclined to call it; and the simple title Egyptian is sufficiently justified by the expression in the Greek inscription, in which it is mentioned as the character of the country. The opinion of Kircher, that the epistolographic alphabet resembled the more modern Coptic, appears, like many other opinions of this learned man, to be founded merely on conjecture. Mr. Büttner has assigned values to some of the characters, deduced from a comparison with the Phenician and other similar alphabets, but none of the results of this comparison are confirmed by Mr. Akerblad's



interpretation of the inscription of Rosetta. It had been remarked, that characters resembling the figures 1, 2, 3, and 4, occur in most of the specimens: the two latter are less observable in the inscription, but the 3 may possibly be a combination implying NTE, *of*, the 2 and 4 the article P or PH, and the 1 an E or an R.

It may be alleged in favour of Mr. Akerblad's alphabet, that it is applicable not only to a variety of proper names occurring repeatedly in the inscription, but also to some, in particular, which are so placed in connexion with a character supposed to imply son or daughter, that there is scarcely a possibility of their being erroneously interpreted. It affords us also a variety of words closely resembling some which are found in the later Coptic; and there is another strong argument in its favour, which has not been noticed: the word Aetos, Mr. Akerblad observes, is repeated in the Egyptian, but not in the Greek; and he is disposed to attribute this circumstance to some accident; in fact, however, the word is repeated in the original inscription, though not in the incorrect copies of it which were first circulated. On the other hand, it is extremely difficult to account for the nonoccurrence of some Coptic words, which must unquestionably be in the inscription: for instance, the name of the month Mechir, which is mentioned in the Greek as a synonym of Xandicus or Xanthicus, and which, according to Kircher, answers in the Coptic to January, although the place which it ought to occupy in the inscription is easily ascertained by the context. Nor can we readily discover the Coptic months Thout and Mesore, which must also occur in a subsequent part, nor the term Pschent, implying a crown of a particular form; at the same time that the exact coincidence of the names of the Egyptian months, with the later Coptic, strengthens very materially the evidence of the near approach of the two languages to identity. The frequency of occurrence of the different characters, in the inscription, by no means coincides with that of the Coptic letters, which Mr. Akerblad supposes to correspond with them, in other cases; and the difference appears to be too great to be wholly accidental.

It is not, however, impossible that future investigations may

remove all the difficulties which still embarrass this subject; and at any rate the stone of Rosetta affords a far better prospect of furnishing us with some knowledge of the ancient characters of Egypt, than any other monument of antiquity, or than any elaborate speculations of a later date. Hermapion professed, in the time of Augustus, to be able to explain the inscription of the Flaminian obelisc; his interpretation, which has been preserved by Ammianus Marcellinus, has no inconsiderable resemblance to the style of the Greek inscription of Rosetta, and may have been a true version of some other hieroglyphic inscription, but is evidently incapable of affording any explanation of the hieroglyphics on the Flaminian obelisc. The voluminous dissertations of Kircher are founded on nothing more than gratuitous and even improbable hypotheses, respecting the nature and subjects of the hieroglyphic inscriptions which he examined; he has produced no satisfactory evidence of the signification of a single character employed in them; and the learned but cautious Zoega has not even attempted to enter into any investigations respecting them, although he professes to have collected near a thousand different figures, which occur in the different monuments that he has examined. We find in Horapollo, that a month was represented by a palm branch, or an inverted crescent; the god Vulcan, by a beetle; the Nile, by a lion, or three water jars; Egypt, by a heart over a fire, and its language by the papyrus, with ink, and a sieve: but none of these symbols is to be found on the stone in question, although the corresponding ideas occur several times in the Greek. Bin Washih too, whose work has been published by Hammer, has informed us what were the hieroglyphic representations of God, Mercury, Gold, Silver, a Jewel, a Vine, and a Stone; but none of the figures, which he has given us, occur in their proper places on the stone of Rosetta: while the character, to which he has attributed the signification Water, is repeatedly employed in every line; so that it seems to imply something like motion or action, or perhaps to assist in forming a verb from a noun, or in some other grammatical modification. It appears, therefore, to be hopeless to attempt to obtain any assistance from external sources, in deciphering



this hieroglyphic inscription : though much may possibly be effected by a careful comparison of its different parts with each other, with the Greek version, and with the Egyptian, when it shall have been sufficiently deciphered. It is remarkable that several repetitions of greater and smaller portions of the characters occur in different parts of this fragment ; but unfortunately the same repetitions cannot be traced in the other versions, probably on account of the greater latitude of expression which the respective modes of writing allowed : thus the concluding phrase, amounting to nearly a quarter of a line, is found entire in the sixth remaining line from the beginning, while we seek in vain for any repetition of the corresponding part of the Egyptian, and the termination of the Greek is broken off. The concluding characters of the hieroglyphics occur in the whole seven times, and appear, by comparison with the other versions, to relate to the erection of a temple, while the part included within a parallelogram may possibly contain the name and titles of the king to whom it was to be dedicated. The three first numerals have been pointed out by Akerblad in the last line, and an analogous symbol may be observed in another part, where it may be supposed to represent the number five. These, and many other conjectures, would probably be confirmed or confuted, if any future traveller should have the good fortune to recover the remaining fragments of this invaluable relic, without which the comparison of the hieroglyphics with the corresponding passages of the other versions must be a work of great labour and uncertainty.

In copying the characters of the fragments of papyrus, it has often been found necessary to detach the particles of dust adhering to their surface with a hair pencil, sometimes moistened with a little rectified spirit, which has the additional advantage of rendering the characters temporarily more legible, without tending to efface them, or materially to injure the papyrus. A few parts, distinguished by dotted lines, appear to have been written in red ink.

The whole of these observations may be considered as preliminary to an attempt, which has since been made, to compare the three in-



scriptions of the stone of Rosetta minutely with each other: the general results of this comparison, as the first foundations of the knowledge of Egyptian literature, may not be unworthy of some attention, even in an imperfect state.

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*A conjectural Translation of the Egyptian Inscription on the Stone of  
Rosetta, obtained by Comparison with the Greek.*

(1) [In the ninth year, on the fourth day of Xanthicus], the eighteenth of the Egyptian month Mechir, of the young king, who received the government of the country from his father, lord of the asp bearing diadems, illustrious in glory, who has established Egypt, the just, the beneficent, the pious towards the gods, victorious over his enemies, who has improved the life of mankind, lord of the feasts of thirty years, like Vulcan the mighty king, like the Sun

2 [the mighty king of the upper and] lower countries, the offspring of the parent loving gods, approved by Vulcan, to whom the Sun has given the victory, the living image of Jove, the offspring of the Sun, Ptolemy, the ever living, beloved by Vulcan, the god illustrious, munificent, (the son of) Ptolemy and Arsinoe the parent loving gods: the priest of Alexander and the saviour gods and the

3 [brother gods, and the gods] beneficent, and the parent loving gods, and the king Ptolemy, the god illustrious, munificent, being Aetus (the son of) Aetus: Pyrrha the daughter of Philinus, being the prize bearer of Berenice the beneficent; Areia, the daughter of Diogenes, being the bearer

4 [of baskets of Arsi]noe the brother loving; Irene, the daughter of Ptolemy being priestess of Arsinoe the parent loving: it was this day decreed by the High priests, the Prophets, those who enter the sacred recesses to attire the gods, the wing bearers, and the sacred scribes, and the rest of the priests who came from the temples of Egypt,

5 [to meet the king, at] the assembly of the assumption of the lawful power of king Ptolemy the ever living, beloved by Vulcan, the god illustrious, munificent, succeeding his father; and who entered the temple of Memphis, and said: Whereas king Ptolemy, the ever living, the god illustrious, munificent, (son of) king Ptolemy

6 [and queen] Arsinoe, the parent loving gods, has given largely to the temples of Egypt, and to all within his kingdom, being a god, the offspring of a god and a goddess, like Orus the son of Isis and Osiris, who fought in the cause of his father Osiris; and being pious and beneficent towards the gods, has bestowed much silver and corn, and much treasure, on the temples of Egypt,

(7) [and has spent much] in order to render the land of Egypt tranquil, and to establish the temples properly: and in all things within his lawful power has been benignly disposed: of the military imposts and tributes of Egypt, some he has lowered, others he has remitted altogether, in order that private individuals and all other men may prosper in the days of his

(8) [reign]: and what was owing to the crown from the Egyptians, and from all under his dominion, he remitted altogether; those who were imprisoned, and who were strongly accused of crimes for many years, he pardoned: he ordered also that the properties of the gods, and the collections of corn and silver made annually,

(9) [likewise] also the portions belonging to the gods from the vineyards and the gardens, and all the other things which had been due to them, as appointed in the time of his father, should remain unaltered: he ordered also the priests not to pay more for their sacerdotal fees than what was required until the first year of his late father: he excused those

(10) [subject] to the power of the temples from the parade of the required voyage to Alexandria every year: he ordered also the press for the naval warfare to be omitted: two parts of the linen garments required to be made for the use of the king in the temples he excused: what had been done improperly for many years he restored to proper



(11) [order:] being careful that due respect should be paid to the gods according to propriety; and likewise that justice should be done to all, like the great great Hermes: he ordered also those who had come down, military persons and others disposed to hostility, in the tumultuous times of Egypt, to return

(12) [to] their own properties, and remain there: he took care to send foot, horse, and ships against those who had come by sea and land against Egypt, spending much treasure of silver and corn, in order that the temples and the inhabitants of Egypt might be tranquil: proceeding against the city of Lycopolis

(13) [in] Busiris, which had been hostilely occupied and fortified, with ample stores of arms, and all other things necessary for sustaining a siege, the hostility of the guilty persons collected into it having been long declared, they having done much mischief to the country, to the Egyptians, and to the sacred things: the king with exten-

(14) sive ramparts and ditches and walls approaching the city, surrounded it: the king collecting much silver and treasures for the purpose, set foot soldiers to guard them, and horse: the river Nile having overflowed in the eighth year, and the fields being usually injured greatly by it at that time,

(15) he restrained the rivers, securing their mouths in many places: the king took the city in no long time by force of arms; the guilty persons collected into it he utterly destroyed; as, in the times of his ancestors, those who were collected in the same place were destroyed by Orus the son of Isis and Osiris, and by Hermes:

(16) the leaders of the revolted and embodied troops, who had laid waste the country, and had done injury to the temples, fighting for his kingdom, for his father, and for the gods, when he came to Memphis, to the solemnity of the assumption of the lawful power, received from his father, he punished all severely: he remitted what to the

(17) crown was due from the temples, as far as the eighth year, amounting to much corn and treasure; and likewise the prices of the linen garments, tributary from the temples, which ought to have been



contributed for the use of the king, and those which were contributed for exhibition, from the same time: he ordered also the annual artaba which had remained due from each arura of sacred land,

(18) likewise the annual ceramium from each arura of the vineyards, to be remitted to the gods: he gave largely to Apis, to Mneuis, and to the other sacred animals of Egypt; taking care more and more beneficently than his ancestors for their honours at all times, and furnishing what was requisite for their funerals splendidly and gloriously; the payments

(19) to his own temples, with assemblies, and sacrifices, and other honours, he appointed: the public ceremonies of the temples, and all the other rites of Egypt he established in order according to the laws: he bestowed many treasures of gold, and silver, and precious stones, on the temple of Apis: and he founded temples of the first order, temples

(20) for the public, and altars, and founded chapels in addition to the primary temples of the gods: what was deficient he restored as was requisite, having the feelings of a beneficent god in things relating to the deities: and having made inquiries, he renewed the most sacred temples in his kingdom, according to their usages: wherefore the gods all powerful have given him health, victory over all,

(21) strength, and all other good gifts, the power of his kingdom remaining to him and to his descendants for ever: and they shall remain with good fortune. It is approved by the priests of all the temples of Egypt, that the honours at present paid to king Ptolemy, the ever living, the god illustrious and munificent, in the temples,

(22) those of his parents, the father loving gods, those of the predecessors of his parents, the beneficent gods, those of the predecessors of the predecessors of his parents, the brother gods, those of the predecessors of the ancestors of his parents, the saviour gods, be augmented greatly: there shall be erected an image of king Ptolemy the ever living, the god illustrious and munificent,

(23) which shall be called sacred to Ptolemy studious of the prosperity of the country, to Ptolemy who has fought for Egypt; and to

the image the greatest god of the temple shall offer the trophies of victory, in each and every temple, in the most conspicuous place in the temple: all which things shall be arranged according to the custom of Egypt: the priests shall worship the images in each and every temple three times a day,

(24) and shall attach to them sacred ornaments, addressing them by name, with other legitimate rites, as is done to the other gods in assemblies and feasts from day to day: there shall be made a statue of king Ptolemy, the god illustrious and munificent, (son of) Ptolemy and queen Arsinoe, the parent loving gods, and a shrine of gold in each temple

(25) and every temple, and placed in the sacred recesses, with the other golden shrines; and in the great assemblies, at the solemnity of the procession of the gods, the shrine of the god illustrious and munificent shall be placed: and in order that the shrine may be distinguished both at this day and at future times, there shall be placed on it the golden ornaments of the king the ten asp bearing diadems, as is

(26) usual; the golden ornaments on the shrine shall be asp bearing diadems, as on the other shrines: there shall be placed in the midst of them the ornament which the king wore, upon his entry into the temple at Memphis, when he celebrated the rites of the assumption of the lawful power from his father, the crown Pschent, which ornament he then wore: and there shall be upon

(27) the golden ornaments the quadrangle of the ever living, and on it shall be placed with the asp bearing diadems, ample golden phylacteries, projecting over the golden shrine; there shall be placed on the asp bearing diadems ample phylacteries, declaring that they belong to the king who has rendered the upper and the lower country illustrious: and since the 30th of Mesore, on which

(28) the birth day of the king is appointed to be celebrated with an assembly and feast in the temples, likewise the eighteenth of Mechir, on which the robed festival of the assumption of his legitimate power is held, have been auspicious days for all men, being dedicated to the king ever living, and to the assumption of his lawful power: on



these days, the 30th and the 18th, there shall be held an assembly every month in all the temples of Egypt, with saeri-

(29) fees, libations, and other lawful honours, as in the other assemblies, the monthly assemblies, and the usual offerings shall be made, with homages, and solemn worship in the temples: there shall be held an assembly and feast in the temples, and in all Egypt, to king Ptolemy the ever living, the god illustrious and munificent, every year, from the first of Thoyth for five days, on which crowns shall be worn,

(30) with sacrifices, libations, and other honours: the priests living in the temples of Egypt, in every temple, shall be called priests of the god illustrious and munificent, besides the other sacerdotal names which they bear, in all edicts, and all acts belonging to the priesthood of the god illustrious and munificent: and it shall be lawful that the festival be celebrated

(31) with proper honours by all other individuals, and that they may consecrate in like manner a golden shrine to the god illustrious and munificent, with due respect, keeping it in their houses, observing the assemblies and feasts, as appointed, every year: which shall be done in order that it may be made manifest that the inhabitants of Egypt honour the god illustrious and munificent

(32) as it is just to do: and this decree shall be engraved on a hard stone, in sacred characters, in common characters, and in Greek, and placed in the first temples, and the second temples, and the third temples, wherever may be the sacred image of the king whose life is for ever.

*An Interpretation of some Parts of the Hieroglyphic Inscription on the Stone of Rosetta, obtained by comparison with the Egyptian and Greek.*

(1) Eg. 16? . . . . . *The leaders of the armed men who were hostilely collected, and had laid waste the country . . . . .*

(2) E. 17 . . . . . *The prices likewise of all the linen cloths due to the king from the temples and not made; and of such as were made those which were proper for exhibition . . . . .*

(3) E. 18 . . . . . *Taking care of their honours more diligently than*



others, giving them sacred ornaments, carefully attending to them, giving what was required for their funeral ceremonies splendidly and gloriously: and the public contributions . . . . .

(4) E. 19 . . . . . The ancient sacred rites he preserved entire: the temple of Apis he adorned magnificently, collecting ample treasures and jewels he presented them to Apis: he founded altars and temples and shrines: he corrected . . . . .

(5) E. 20 . . . . . According to the established rites in his kingdom: wherefore the great gods have given him health, victory, strength, and other good gifts; the royal power remaining to him and to his children for ever, with good fortune and prosperity. The priests have decreed unalterably . . . . .

(6) E. 22 . . . . . Of his ancestors the saviour gods, the honours be increased greatly; that there be erected an image of the young king Ptolemy, ever living, beloved by Vulcan, the god illustrious and munificent, which shall be called sacred to Ptolemy the protector of his country, to Ptolemy who has . . . . .

(7) E. 23 . . . . . Of Egypt: they shall worship each image three times a day, and adorn them with sacred ornaments, and pay them other lawful honours, in like manner as to the other gods of the country, in the sacred assemblies, with the customary rites on all public occasions: and there shall be consecrated to the young king Pto . . . . .

(8) E. 24 . . . . . And a statue of gold, and placed in all the temples of Egypt, in the sacred recesses with the shrines of the gods of the country: and on each of the days of the great assemblies in honour of all the gods, when the statues are carried in procession, also the shrine and statue of the god illustrious and munificent shall be carried: and in order that the golden shrine may be distinguished at this day . . . . .

(9) E. 26 . . . . . The golden shrine, like to the asp bearing diadems upon all the sacred shrines: and in the middle shall be the crown called Pschent which in the temple of Memphis was worn by the king, when in that temple he assumed the royal power; there shall also be added to the sacred ornaments of the quadrangle of each of the divine crowns of . . . . .

(10) E. 27 . . . . . *Him who has rendered his country glorious, the asp bearing diadem of him who has adorned the upper and the lower regions: and since the thirtieth of Mesore, the birth day of the god ever living, appointed to be celebrated by an ornamented assembly in the temples, and likewise the eighteenth of Mechir, on which the young king assumed the government of the kingdom of his father, have been days auspicious to the happiness of all men . . . . .*

(11) E. 28 . . . . . *Of his sacred father: on each of these days, the eighteenth and thirtieth of every month, there shall be an assembly in the temples and in all the holy places, celebrated with sacrifices and libations, and with other lawful honours usual in each monthly assembly: and the offerings in the assemblies shall be observed, with the services performed in the temples . . . . .*

(12) E. 29 . . . . . *Ptolemy the ever living, beloved by [Vulcan], the god illustrious and munificent, every year from the first of Thoyth for five days, celebrating the assembly with crowns and sacrifices and libations, with appropriate honours: and the priests of all the temples under the dominion of Egypt shall be called servants of the god illustrious and munificent, besides the other sacerdotal names by which they are called . . . . .*

(13) E. 30 . . . . . *The priesthood of the god illustrious and munificent: and it shall be lawful that the festival of the king be celebrated by all private persons disposed to honour him: they may consecrate likewise a shrine to the king illustrious and munificent, and keep it in their houses, performing all manner of sacred rites both monthly and yearly: in order that it may be manifest that all the inhabitants of Egypt . . . . .*

(14) E. 31 . . . . . *With due respect: and they have resolved to engrave on a column of hard stone, in sacred characters, in the characters of the country, and in Greek, the present decree; and to place it in all the temples under the dominion of Egypt, of the first, and second, and third order, wherever shall be the image of the young king Ptolemy, the ever living, beloved by Vulcan, the god illustrious and munificent.*



FRAGMENTS OF AN EGYPTIAN MANUSCRIPT.

[illegible]











COPTIC	EGYPTIAN. AK.	ZENDISH	SASSANIDIAN	PHENICIAN
Α Alpha	Ⲁ, ⲁ	Ⲁ: ⲁ	Ⲁ, ⲁ, Ⲃ	Ⲁ, Ⲁ, Ⲁ, ⲁ, Ⲃ
Β Beta	Ⲃ	Ⲃ: Ⲃ	Ⲃ, Ⲃ	Ⲃ, Ⲃ, Ⲃ
Γ Gamma	Ⲃ	Ⲃ: Ⲃ, Ⲃ	Ⲃ, Ⲃ, Ⲃ	Ⲃ, Ⲃ, Ⲃ, Ⲃ
Δ Dalda	Ⲃ	Ⲃ: Ⲃ	Ⲃ, Ⲃ, Ⲃ	Ⲃ, Ⲃ, Ⲃ, Ⲃ
Ε Ei	Ⲃ, Ⲃ, Ⲃ	(Ⲃ) Ⲃ	Ⲃ	Ⲃ, Ⲃ, Ⲃ, Ⲃ, Ⲃ
Ϝ Se (num.)				
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Η Hida	Ⲃ, Ⲃ, Ⲃ			
Θ Thida	Ⲃ	Ⲃ		
Ι Inuda	Ⲃ, Ⲃ, Ⲃ	Ⲃ: Ⲃ	Ⲃ, Ⲃ	Ⲃ, Ⲃ, Ⲃ (Sam. III)
Κ Kabba	Ⲃ, Ⲃ, Ⲃ	Ⲃ: Ⲃ	(Ⲃ) Ⲃ, Ⲃ, Ⲃ	Ⲃ, Ⲃ: (Ⲃ) Ⲃ, Ⲃ, Ⲃ, Ⲃ, Ⲃ
Λ Lauda	Ⲃ, Ⲃ		Ⲃ, Ⲃ, Ⲃ	Ⲃ, Ⲃ, Ⲃ, Ⲃ, Ⲃ
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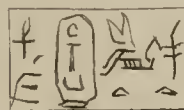
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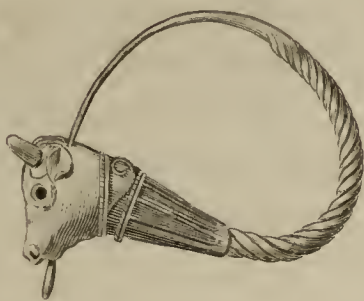
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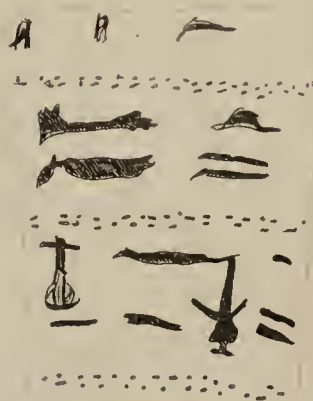
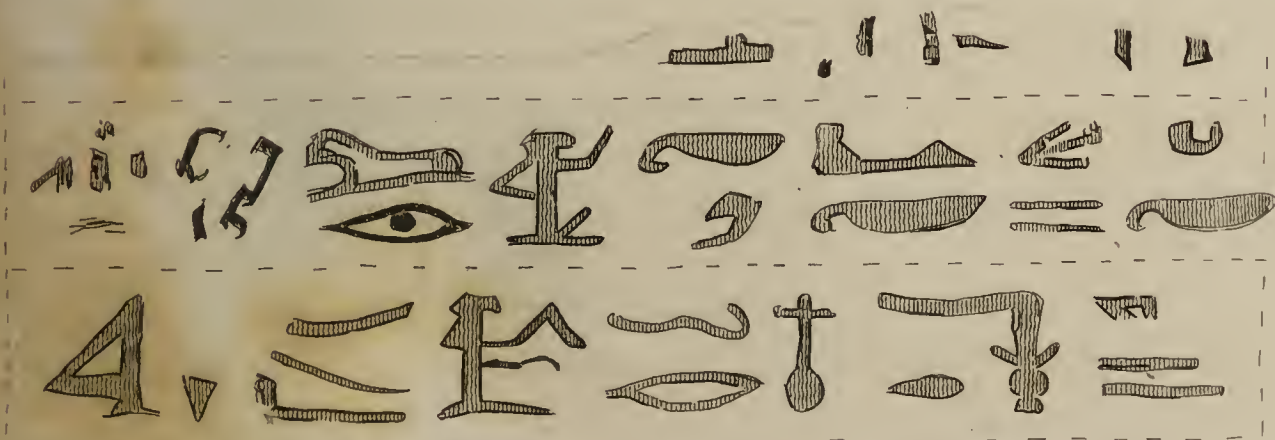
FOUR VIEWS OF THE SAME MAGNIFIED.



GOLD EARRING FOUND AT ATHENS.



HIEROGLYPHICS ON THE FOOT OF A MARBLE IMAGE.







XI. *Copy of a Paper in the Hand-Writing of King Edward the Sixth, entitled, "A Summary of Matters to be concluded." Communicated by HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary, in a Letter to SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. F.R.S. V.P.*

Read 30th June, 1814.

DEAR SIR,

FROM the same volume whence I transcribed a Letter of Cardinal Wolsey, among the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum, I transmit you the copy of a Paper in the hand-writing of King Edward the Sixth, dated in the endorsement 1552, and entitled, "A Summary of Matters to be concluded."

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1. How a masse of mony may be gotten to discharge the Summe of £300,000, both for discharg of the Dettis, and also to get £80,000 of treasur mony for al eventis.

2. Deminishing of the Charges of the Pensioners Table, the Lord Preuy Seals, the Physitions, and the M<sup>r</sup>. of Houshold, giueng the reasonable recompens

3. Redeming the Lesses partaining to the Liurees at Westmynster, Whaltam, Reding, and Saint Albons.

4. Discharging in th'Admiralte.

5. Prouision to be made for the Wardrobe, whearby the charg may be the lesse.

6. Discharg of the Postes.

7. Discharg of certen Bulwarkes on the sea side wich be thought superfluous.

8. Discharging 1000 men in Irland mo than be yet.

9. Discharg of 800 men at Barwike when the fort shall be reaird, and 200 at Guisness for this winter.

10. Bringing th'Augmentation Court into th'Exchequer and likewise the Court of first frutes and tenthes, and sauing al thos fees that may be spared.

11. Examining whether by their Patentess they have portage mony alowed them, and, if they hav it, how they gat it.

12. Discharging the superfluous fees in the Duchy and the Wardis.

13. Gathering and coining of the Church Plate.

14. Sale of certain landis of Chauntries, Colleges, Houses, and Beaumonts Landes to the some of £5000.

15. Bringing in the remnant of the Dettis.

16. Taking accomptes of al thos that haue had to doe with mony sins the 36 yeare of K. Hen. 8<sup>th</sup>.

17. The stay of Lead.

18. The Sale of the Bel Metal.

19. Th'execution of penal Lawes, touching Horses, Ploughs, for Riotes, Oppressions, Planting, Grafting of Trees, for the seise of Wood and Billet, Forstalling, and Reqrating.

20. The Offences and Forfeits of the Merchaunts of the Stilliard.

21. The calling of a Parliament, for to get some subsidie in respect of the defence of th'Englishmen that be robbed by Frenchmen.

22. Sale of certein Jewels to the Sum of £15,000.

23. Examining how the Sale of the Fustians is made, and also of the Copar.

24. The borrowing of the Stapullers.

25. Guidottes Obligations to be powrsewed.

26. Taking Ordre for the Mines in Ireland.

#### FOR RELIGION.

1. A Catechism to be set forth for to be taught in al Gramar Scholes.



2. An Uniformitie of Doctrine to wich all preachers should set their handes.

3. Commissions to be graunted to thos Bishops that be grave, learned, wise, sober, and of good religion for th'executing of discipline.

4. To find faute with the slothfulnesse of the pastors, and to deliver them Articles of Visitation, willing and commanding them to be more diligent in their Office, and to keap more preachers.

5. Th'abrogating of the old Canon Law and Establishment of a new.

6. The diuiding of the bishoprike of Durham into tow, and placing of men in them.

7. The placing of Harley into the bishoprick of Hereford.

8. The making of more Homelies.

9. The making of more Injunctions.

10. The placing of one in a Bishoprike in Ireland wich Turner of Caunterbury hath refused.

FOR THE STRENGTH AND WEALTH OF THE REALME.

1. The fortifieng of Portsmouth.

2. The fortifieng of Berwike to be accomplished.

3. The reparation of Beaucastel in Tyndal.

4. Fortification at the Blakbanke.

5. Amending the Peir of Douer.

6. Amending Sandwich Hauen.

7. Repairing of Dover Castle and Haven.

8. Amending the gitty at Cales.

9. Fortifieng of Neumanbrigg.

10. Making of Store-houses at Guines.

11. To strengthen the Hauens of Falmouth and Dertmouthe.

12. The making of more great Ordnance of the copar in the Tower and the Bel-metal.

13. Provision for more armure.
14. Provision for more piques, hagbutes, staues, bowstafes, billes, &c.
15. Sending Commissioners to view the State of the Realme for keping of great horses, wether they do observe the Statute made concerning the same.
16. The devise of tow Martes, one at Hul another at Hampton.
17. To bring more Artes into the Realme, so that al may not stand by clothinge."

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Such were the views of Edward the Sixth for the reformation of the realm. I know not that any of our historians have given us so minute a statement of his intentions.

I am, dear Sir,

Sincerely your's,

HENRY ELLIS.

SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. F. R. S. V. P. &c.

XII. *Copy of a Letter from Archbishop Cranmer to Mastyr Hawkyns, relating to the Queens Catharine of Arragon and Anne Boleyn. Communicated by HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary, in a Letter to SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. V. P. F. R. S.*

Read November 10, 1814.

British Museum, Nov. 1, 1814.

DEAR SIR,

AMONG the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum is one, marked 6148, which appears to have been once archbishop Cranmer's rough Copy-Book of Letters.

The transcripts are entirely in Cranmer's hand; and there is one Letter, which, although the effect may be found chronicled by our historians, is too curious in the detail not to deserve the Society's notice. It relates partly to the sentence of divorce passed between King Henry the Eighth and Queen Katherine, and partly to the coronation of Queen Anne Boleyn; and decidedly refutes the slander that Henry and Anne Boleyn were privately married by Cranmer himself.

This curious Manuscript, at a much later period than Cranmer's time, appears to have fallen into the hands of some herald, who filled the spaces and blank pages between the different letters with coats of arms, genealogical matters, and a few historical extracts.

I am, dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

HENRY ELLIS.



*A Copy of a Lettre sent vnto Master Hawkyns Ambassadour with the  
Emprors Magestie.*

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IN my most hartie wise I commende me unto you and even so woulde be right gladd to here of your welfare &c. Thes be to advertise you that inasmoche as you nowe and than take some paynes in writyng vnto me I woulde be lothe you shuld thynke your Labour utterly lost and forgotten for lake of wrytyng agayne, therefore and bycause I reken you be somedeles desirous of suche newis as hathe byn here with us of late in the Kyngis graces matters, I entend to enforme you a parte therof accordyng to the tenure and purporte vsyd in that behalf. Ande fyrste as towchyng the small determynacion and concludyng of the Matter of devorse betwene my Lady Kateren and the Kyngs grace, whiche said matter after the Convocacion in that behalf hadde determyned and agreed accordyng to the former consent of the Vniversities, yt was thowght convenient by the Kyng and his lernyd councell that I shuld repayre unto Dunstable, which ys within iiij. myles vnto Amptell where the said Lady Kateren kepeth her howse, and there to call her before me, to here the fynall Sentance in this said mateir. Notwithstandyng she would not att all obey therunto, for whan she was by doctour Lee cited to appe[ar] by a daye she utterly refused the same, sayinge that inasmoche as her cause was before the Pope she would have none other Judge, and therefore woulde not take me for her Judge. Nevertheless the viij<sup>th</sup> daye of Maye, accordyng to the said appoyntment, I came vnto Dunstable, my Lorde of Lyncoln beyng assistante vnto me, and my Lorde of Wyncehester, Doctour Bell, D. Claybroke, D. Trygonnel, D. Hewis, D. Olyver, D. Brytten, Mr. Bedell, with diuerse other lernyd in the Lawe beyng councellours in the Lawe for the King's parte. And soo there at our commyng kepte a Courte for the apperance of the said Lady Kateren, where were examyned certeyn witnes whiche testified

that she was lawfully cited and called to appere, whome for fawte of apperance was declared contumax, procedyng in the said cause agaynste her in penam contumaciam as the processe of the Lawe thereunto belongeth, whiche contynewed xv. dayes after our cummyng thither. And the morow after Assension daye I gave finall Sentance therin howe that it was indispensable for the Pope to lycense any suche marieges.

This donne, and after our reiornyng home agayne The Kings Highnes prepared al thyngs convenient for the coronacion of the Queene, whiche also was after suche a maner as foloweth. The Thursdaye nexte before the feaste of pentecost the Kyng and the Queene beyng at Grenewyche, all the Craftes of London thereunto well appoynted, in severall bargis deckyd after the most gorgiose and sumptuous maner, with dyverse pagiantes thereunto belongyng, repayred and wayted all together upon the Mayre of London, and so, well furnysshed, cam all vnto Grenewiche, where they taryed and wayted for the Queenes commyng to her barge; which so done they brought her unto the tower, tromppets, shambes, and other dyverse instrumentes all the wayes playng and makyng greate melodie, which, as ys reported, was as combyly donne as neuer was lyke in any tyme nyghe to our remembraunce: and so her grace cam to the tower on Thursdaye at nyghte abowte v. of the clocke, where also was suche a pele of gonnes as hath not byn harde lyke a great while before. And the same nyghte and Frydaye aldaye the Kyng and Queene taryed there, and on Frydaye at nyght the Kyngs grace made xvij Knyghts of the Bathe whose creacion was not alonly so strange to hereof, as also their garmentes stranger to beholde or loke on; whiche said Knightes, the nexte daye, whiche was Saturday, rydde before the Queene's grace thorowte the Citie of London towards Westminster palice, over and besyds the moste parte of the nobles of the Realme whiche lyke accompanied her grace thorowe owte the said citie, She syttyng in her heere, upon a Horse Lytter, rychely appareled, and iiij knyghtes of the v. ports beryng a Canapye over her hedd. And after her cam iiij. riche charettes, one of them emptie and iij. other furnysshed with diuerse auncient old lades; and after the[m]



cam a great trayne of other Lades and gyntillwomen: whyche said Progresse, from the begynnyng to thendying, extendid half a myle in leyngthe by estimacōn or thereabout. To whome also as she came alongeste the Citie was shewid many costely pagients, with diverse other encomyes spoken of chyl dren to her, Wyne also runyng at certeyne Conditis plentiously. And so procedyng thorowte the streats passid furthe vnto Westminster Hall, where was a certeyn Banket prepared for her, which donne, she was conveyd owte of the bake syde of the palice into a Barge and so vnto Yorke Place, where the Kyng's grace was before her comyng, for this you muste ever presuppose that his grace came allwayes before her secretlye in a Barge aswell frome Grenewyche to the tower as from the tower to Yorke place.

Nowe than on Soundaye was the Coronacion, which allso was of such a maner.

In the mornynge ther assymble[d] withe me at Westminster Church the bysshop of Yorke, the B. of London, the B. of Wynchester, the B. of Lyncoln, the B. of Bathe, and the B. of Saint Asse, the Abbote of Westminster with x or xij moo Abbottes, whiche all re-vestred ourselfs in our pontificalibus, and, soo furnysshed, withe our Crosses and Crossiers, procedid oute of th'Abbey in a procession unto Westminster Hall, where we receyved the Queene apareled in a Robe of pu[r]ple velvet, and all the ladyes and gentillwomen in robes and gownes of scarlet accordyng to the maner vsed before tyme in such besynes: and so her Grace sustayned of eche syde with ij<sup>to</sup> bysshops, the Bysshope of London ande the Bysshop of Wynchester, came furthe in processyon unto the Church of Westminster, she in her here, my Lord of Suffolke beryng before herr the Crowne, and ij<sup>to</sup> other Lords beryng also before her a Ceptur and a white Rodde, and so entred up into the highe Alter, where diverse Ceremoneys used aboute her, I did sett the Crowne on her hedde, and than was songe Te Deum, &c. And after that was song a solempne Masse, all which while her grace satt crowned upon a scaffold whiche was made betwene the Highe Alter and the Qwyer in Westminster Church, which Masse and ceremonyes donne and fynnysshed, all the Assemble of noble men



broughte her into Westminstre Hall agayne, where was kepte a great solempne feaste all that daye, The good ordre therof were to longe to wrytte at this tyme to you. But nowe Sir you may nott ymagyn that that this Coronacion was before her mariage, for she was married muche about sainte Paules daye last, as the Condicion therof dothe well appere by reason she ys nowe sumwhat bygg with chylde. Notwithstanding yt hath byn reported thorowte a great parte of the realme that I married her, whiche was playnly false, for I myself knewe not therof a fortenyght after yt was donne. And many other thyngs be also reported of me, whiche be mere lyes and tales.

Other newys have we none notable, but that one Fryth, whiche was in the tower in pryson, was appoynted by the Kyngs grace to be examyned befor me, my Lorde of London, my lorde of Wynchestre, my Lorde of Suffolke, my Lorde Chancelour, and my Lorde of Wylteshere, whose opynion was so notably erronious, that we culde not dyspache hym but was fayne to leve hym to the determynacion of his Ordinarye, whiche ys the bishop of London. His said opynyon ys of suche nature that he thoughte it nat necessary to be beleved as an Article of our faythe, that ther ys the very corporall presence of Christe within the Oste and Sacramente of the Alter, and holdethe of this poynte muste after the Opynion of Oecolampadius. And suerly I myself sent for hym iij or iiij tymes to perswade hym to leve that his Imaginacion, but for all that we could do therin he woulde not applye to any counsaile, notwithstanding nowe he ys at a fynall ende with all examinacions, for my Lorde of London hathe gyven sentance and delyuerd hym to the secular power, where he loketh every daye to goo unto the fyer. And ther ys also condempned with hym one Andrewe a taylour of London for the said self same opynion.

If you have not harde of our Ambassadors lately gone over, you shall understande that my Lorde of Northf', my Lorde of Rocheforde, Maste[r] Paulet, Sir Francis Bryan, Sir Antoney Browne, &c. Doctour Gooderyche, D. Aldryche, and D. Thrylbey, be gonne into France to the Frenche Kyng, and as I suppose they goo frome hyme to the Pope unto . . . . .

Further you shall understande that ther ys many here whiche whyshe you to succede your uncle. Notwithstanding I would you shulde not thynke the contrarye but that ther be a great sorte whiche woulde yt shuld not come to passe, nevertheless you be nether the nerar ne funder of thorowe suche idyll communicacōn.

Fynally I here sende unto you a Bill for the banke of iiij<sup>c</sup> Duckes de largo, whiche somme I woulde you shuld not take yt up before you have nede therof, and therefore I send yt for your commodite and necessite, for it ys none of the Kyngs graces money, nor his said grace knowethe nothyng therof, but alonelye of my benevolence to serve your purpose in caase (as I said) you shulde lacke the same. And thus farr' ye well frome my man<sup>r</sup> of Croydon the xvij daye of June.



XIII. *Some Observations on a Monumental Inscription in the Parish Church of Landulph, Cornwall. By the Rev. FR. VYVYAN JAGO, F.S.A. Rector of Landulph.*

Read January 12th, 1815.

WHEN we reflect on the political changes that have recently taken place in Europe, by the total obliteration of some states, and the dismemberment or new organization of others, the mind sickens at the view of the authors of these changes, usurping the thrones of her ancient sovereigns on no better claim than the right of conquest; and we cannot but draw a mournful parallel between these and the events of darker ages, and imagine those days returned when Rome fell under the barbarous yoke of Alaric, and the usurping crescent of Mohammed the Second glimmered upon the throne and empire of Constantine the Great.

We cannot at the same time but feel a dignified pleasure in the consciousness that England, zealously attached to her own lawful sovereigns, has ever been ready to receive with open arms those of other states who have suffered from lawless usurpation. The family of the unfortunate Louis have been indebted to the loyal generosity of Englishmen for an hospitable asylum; and it may be interesting to communicate a curious fact, perhaps not generally known, that about two centuries ago, in an obscure corner of the kingdom, lived and died Theodore Paleologus, the immediate descendant of the Constantine family, and in all probability the lineal heir to the empire of Greece.

In the parish church of Landulph, in the eastern extremity of



Cornwall, is a small brass tablet fixed against the wall, with the following inscription :—

“ Here lyeth the body of Theodore Paleologus, of Pesaro in  
“ Italye, descended from y<sup>e</sup> Imperyal lyne of y<sup>e</sup> last Chris-  
“ tian emperors of Greece, being the sonne of Camilio, y<sup>e</sup>  
“ sonne of Prosper, the sonne of Theodoro, the sonne of John,  
“ y<sup>e</sup> sonne of Thomas, second brother of Constantine Paleo-  
“ logus, the 8<sup>th</sup> of that name, and last of y<sup>e</sup> lyne y<sup>e</sup> rayned in  
“ Constantinople until subdued by the Turks, who married  
“ w<sup>t</sup> Mary, y<sup>e</sup> daughter of William Balls, of Hadlye in  
“ Souffolke, Gent. and had issue 5 children, Theodoro, John,  
“ Ferdinando, Maria, and Dorothy; and departed this life  
“ at Clyfton, y<sup>e</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> of Jan<sup>y</sup>, 1636.”

Above the inscription are the imperial arms proper of the empire of Greece—an eagle displayed with two heads, the two legs resting upon two gates; the imperial crown over the whole, and between the gates a crescent for difference as second son.

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“ The Paleologus dynasty were descended from the imperial race of the Comneni; and the first of the family was Michael Paleologus about 1270; to whom succeeded Andronicus the First and Second, John I., and Emmanuel, who died 1425, leaving six sons. The eldest, John II., who was associated with his father in the government during his life-time, succeeded him. Andronicus, the second son, had the principality of Thessalonica, and died of a leprosy soon after the sale of that city to the Venetians. Some fortunate incidents had restored Peloponnesus, or the Morea, to the empire; and in his more prosperous days, Emmanuel had fortified the narrow isthmus of six miles with a stone wall and 153 towers. The wall was overthrown upon the first blast of the Ottomans; the fertile peninsula might have

been sufficient for the *four* younger brothers, Theodore and Constantine, Demetrius and Thomas, but they wasted in domestic contests the remains of their strength, and the least successful of the rivals were reduced to a life of dependance in the Byzantine palace. On the death of John II., who survived four years the Hungarian crusade; the royal family, by the death of Andronicus, and the monastic profession of Isidore (or Theodore), was reduced to three princes, Constantine, Demetrius, and Thomas. Of these, the first and last were far distant in the Morea; but Demetrius, who possessed the domain of Selybria, was in the suburbs at the head of a party. His ambition was not chilled with the public distress; and his conspiracy with the Turks and the schismatics had already disturbed the peace of the country. He would have supplanted his brother, and ascended the throne, but for his mother and the great men, who prevented him. His younger brother, the despot Thomas, also accidentally returning to the capital, asserted the cause of Constantine, who was crowned emperor.”<sup>a</sup>

“Demetrius and Thomas now divided the Morea between them; but though they had taken a solemn oath never to violate the agreement, differences soon arose, and Thomas took up arms to drive Demetrius out of his possessions; Demetrius hereupon retired to Asan, his wife’s brother; by whose means he obtained succours from Amurat, and compelled Thomas to submit the matters in dispute to the emperor’s (Constantine’s) arbitration. But that prince refusing to deliver to his brother the territories that fell to his share, Mohammed ordered Thuraken, his governor in the Morea, to assist Demetrius, and demolish the wall that shut up that country. Hereupon Thomas gave him the city of Kalamata, in lieu of the territory of the Skortians, which he detained. Immediately on this event, Mohammed besieged and took Constantinople, in defence of which Constantine was slain.”<sup>b</sup>

The dissensions of the two brothers may be considered a principal cause of the fall of the Greek empire.

<sup>a</sup> Gibbon’s Hist. 4<sup>to</sup>. vol. vi. page 459.

<sup>b</sup> Universal Hist.



After the capture of Constantinople, Mohammed makes war on Demetrius and Thomas, under pretence of recovering the tribute due to him from them as despots of the Morea; but he is obliged to retire, and soon after comes to agreement with them. At this time the Albanians, Thomas's subjects, revolt, and attack *Patras*, a city of Achaia, where Thomas resided, but are repulsed: they would have been, however, ultimately successful, had not Mohammed sent his general Thuraken to their assistance.

The two brothers again falling out, and endeavouring to supplant each other, Mohammed takes advantage of it, and in 1458 sends an order to the despots of the Morea to pay three years arrears of ten thousand ducats tribute, or quit the country. In spring following, he marched to attack the Morea, and reduced Corinth, without using force. At the first news of his appearance, *Thomas*, one of the despots, retired to Italy with his wife and children; and Demetrius, the other, submitted of his own accord to the Soltân, who carried him away to Constantinople.

Such is the account given in the Universal History from Dukas. The relation of Khalcondylas in the same work is more particular, as well as more favourable to the character of Thomas: "Prince Thomas having retired from Pylos, repaired to the island of Korfu, where he left his family, and set sail for Italy; at the same time, he sent an ambassador to know if Mohammed would give him a great extent of country along the sea-coast, in exchange for the city of Epidamnum. The Soltân, by way of answer, put the envoy in irons, but soon after sent him back. Thomas, arriving at Rome 1461, was lodged in the Pope's palace, and had a pension of three thousand livres for his other expences."

Rycaut, in his History, gives a still higher character of Thomas: "Thomas getting into the castle of Salmenica, defended the same against the infidels a whole year, when, despairing of relief, he escaped into *Italy*, where the Pope allowed him a pension till the day of his death. Of him Mahomet gave this character: "That he had found many slaves, but never a man in the Grecian province besides Prince Thomas."



But Gibbon has a very contemptible account of the ultimate fate of this unfortunate family. He says, that Demetrius died at Constantinople in a monastic habit, and abject slavery; that the misery of Thomas was prolonged by a pension of six thousand ducats from the Pope and cardinals; that he died leaving *two* sons, Andrew and Manuel, who were educated in Italy; that Manuel the younger returned to Constantinople, where he was maintained by the Soltân, and died, leaving a son, who was lost in the habit and religion of a Turkish slave. The elder brother Andrew, contemptible to his enemies, and burthensome to his friends, was degraded by the baseness of his life and marriage, and sold his title to the empires of Constantinople and Trebizond to Charles VIII. in 1494, who assumed the purple and title of Augustus. And in a note, he says from Du Cange, that the Palæologi of *Montferrat* were not extinct till the next century, but they had forgotten their Greek origin and kindred.

So degrading is the account this historian gives us of the remains of this celebrated family. It is a grateful task to endeavour to prove his representation in some respects incorrect and undeserved; as we shall then be authorized to hesitate upon what he tells us as to the rest, and to put a more liberal construction upon the whole.

From the inscription at Landulph it is clear Thomas had *three* sons: the third, called *John*, whose family, though we have no particular mention of them, remained in Italy, at Rome probably, and Pesaro, till the time of Theodore. From the inscription it is also certain that this family was not extinct in 1636, and perhaps some of the descendants are still living in England at this moment.

The imputation thrown on the *Montferrat* Paleologi certainly does not apply to this branch, that they had forgotten their Greek origin and kindred; on the contrary, the inscription proves, from the accuracy of the pedigree, and the arms with the difference of second brother, that the family of Theodore Paleologus, had neither forgotten their Greek origin nor high descent, but still gloried in them, and were scrupulously exact in perpetuating the same.

The names of Theodore and John occurring in this pedigree, and continued in the family of Theodore, are still stronger evidences.

Camillo, Prosper, and Ferdinando, were probably acquired on their connection with Italian families.

It would be absurd to make any conjectures as to the history of Theodore's predecessors, as we have no documents to warrant any conjecture. If we hazard any opinion at all, we may suppose, that when, in 1464, the Venetians under Vettorio Capelli warred against the Turks and attacked *Pattras*, Thomas's former residence, he probably joined them, perhaps fell there; and in the frequent wars which afterwards occurred between those powers, John, Theodoro, Prosper, and Camillo, were probably not idle spectators, but joined against the common enemy, as well from a recollection of former wrongs, as a hope to regain some part of their ancient possessions. Indeed, their settlement at Pesaro might have been whilst the duchy of Urbino belonged to the Venetians,<sup>c</sup> and in consideration of the part they took in those wars.

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### THEODORE PALEOLOGUS

Was born, we may infer from the inscription, at *Pesaro*. Of his mother we know nothing; his father was called *Camillo*. The time of his birth is also uncertain; though, from his marriage in 1615, *then a widower*, we may suppose him to be then about forty, which carries back his birth to 1575.

Theodore's removal from Italy, and settlement in England, must have been either compulsive or voluntary. If the former, it was probably either on account,

1. Of his religion; or,
2. From other causes.

As to the first, the Paleologus family, from the time of John II.,

<sup>c</sup> That the Venetians were friendly to the family is evident from Du Cange, who, in his account "De Cæteris Palæologis, quorum stirps incerta," mentions "Palæologus Grizzius, vir magnanimus, Muchi in Morea dominus, *Venetias* profectus equitumque Magister creatus, statim moritur." And "Nicolaus Palæologus, Malvagiæ præfectus, quam adversus Muchemetum tueri non potuit, *Venetis* vendidit." (Du Cange's Hist. Byzant. page 254.).



were reconciled to and in union with the Latin church; and to this circumstance is probably to be attributed the protection afterwards afforded to Thomas by the Pope, perhaps through the interest of Cardinal Isidore, the resident nuncio at Constantinople. But the Greek church still differed very materially in many points from the Latin; and though Gregory XIII. founded a college at Rome for the education of the Greek children in the sciences and religion, (and here perhaps Theodore was educated), yet we find him opposing what he called the errors of the Greeks; and in particular on his alteration of the calendar he is much incensed against them for refusing to receive it. And again, in the pontificate of Clement VIII. we find him particularly anxious to reform the Greek church, and much enraged at being imposed on by a pretended embassy from the metropolitan of Russia, which proved to be a forgery. If Theodore, as is most probable, was still of the Greek church, these circumstances might have induced the Pope to withdraw the protection and support hitherto afforded to the family.—But if,

2. To other causes, is to be attributed Theodore's departure from Italy, it was perhaps from the rigid decree of *Sixtus* the Fifth, (about the year 1585), prohibiting foreigners from living at Rome, unless they brought a certificate that they were able by some trade or profession to maintain their families. If Theodore's family were then at Rome, and in dependance on the papacy, perhaps Sixtus might enforce this decree to rid himself of a family whose high descent he possibly regarded with a jealous eye, recollecting the meanness of his own origin. Or, the severe famine, which in 1590 afflicted all the ecclesiastical state, might oblige Theodore, among others, to emigrate to another country.

If, on the other hand, Theodore's departure from Italy was voluntary, as is most probable, it might be from having formed some acquaintance, either with natives of this country, or with foreigners who were coming hither.

About the same time that the Greek college was founded at Rome, (and where we may imagine Theodore to have had his education),



another was founded called the Scotch college, for children of refugees from Scotland and England. Here we may suppose Theodore to have had some acquaintance; nor is it unlikely that when the jubilee in 1601 attracted a vast assemblage of persons from all countries to Rome, some one of these might have prevailed on Theodore to return to England with them. In the same year 1601, the Duke of Braeciano, a neighbouring state to Pesaro, came to England, or rather Scotland, on a visit to the King of the Scots his relation. Did Theodore accompany him? Again, we may suppose him to have volunteered in the war against the Turks under Rodolph II. in whose army were many Englishmen, and in particular Sir Thomas Arundel, whose namesake, and probably friend, Thomas Arundel, resided at Clifton, the subsequent residence of Theodore. Did he come over with him? If not, we may lastly imagine he came here through Sir Henry Killigrew, ambassador about this time to the Venetians or Genoese. The connection between the Arundel, Killigrew, and Lower families, give the most plausibility to the two last conjectures.

But whatever may be our conjectures as to Theodore's removal from Italy, we know that in 1615 he was actually in England, at Hadlye in Suffolk, and (then a widower) married Mary, daughter of William Balls, of that town. No traces of the Balls family remain at present, either from tradition or otherwise, except the register of Theodore's marriage; and even here, Mr. Wilkins, the minister, who has favoured me with a copy of this register, says that it is too mutilated and imperfect to decipher accurately the name of Paleologus.

The issue of this marriage, as the monument tells us, were five children, Theodoro, John, Ferdinando, Maria, and Dorothy, all of whom must have been born before Theodore left the eastern part of the kingdom; for the register of Landulph, perfect till the year 1629, makes no mention whatever of the name. He could not therefore have settled at Clifton in Landulph earlier than 1622 or 1623.

Clifton, a few years before this, in 1600, was the mansion of the Arundels; but in 1630, Sir Nicholas Lower, a Cornish gentleman, who married Sir Henry Killigrew's daughter, was living at Clifton.

Between these two dates Paleologus must have come here; and what is more particular, he died at Clifton in 1636, at the very time that Clifton was the residence of Sir Nicholas Lower.

I have made repeated inquiries of the old people of the parish, but not the slightest tradition remains respecting him; and here again conjecture must supply the place of fact. When Theodore came to Clifton, he came *with his family*, for by the register it appears one of his daughters married in the parish, and the other died here unmarried. There must then have been some connection either between the Arundel or Lower families and himself.

As to the first supposition, if it is probable he came into England with Sir Thomas Arundel from the battles in Hungary, we may suppose Sir Thomas recommended him to Landulph, as from its vicinity to the sea, and warmth of climate, more nearly resembling the climate and situation of Pesaro than any other place in the kingdom. In this case we may suppose him to have taken Clifton for a term, and as the house appears to have been *originally divided into two*, the subsequent occupier, Sir Nicholas Lower, and Paleologus, might be both living at Clifton at the same time, unconnected with each other.

The more probable supposition however is, that he settled at Clifton from the connection that subsisted between Sir Henry Killigrew (who, I feel strongly inclined to believe, brought him to England) and Sir Nicholas Lower. Sir Nicholas Lower married Sir Henry's daughter, and as they were now advanced in life, without any family, the society of Paleologus and his children might be desirable to them; particularly when we recollect that this was the time when the Greek language was so much in fashion in England, that even ladies studied it most zealously; that Lady Killigrew was one of the learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, celebrated for her literary attainments, and particularly her knowledge of Greek; and it is reasonable to suppose her daughter, Lady Lower, wife of Sir Nicholas, was brought up with the same fondness for the classic languages; and where could she expect to find so able an instructor as a



descendant of the first family in the Greek empire; or what place could be more suited to classical pursuits than the retirement of a country mansion, such as Clifton.

On the 21st of January, 1636, as appears by the monument, Theodore Paleologus died at Clifton, Sir Nicholas and Lady Lower being still alive; of whom, the latter died in 1638, and Sir Nicholas in 1655.

The Landulph register, perfect from 1540 to 1628, has then a great chasm till the year 1649; and during this interval, all the entries that would have been probably most interesting to our inquiries, were made.

Some little time since, I examined the duplicates of parish registers deposited in the room of archives in Exeter cathedral; and after a laborious search among the registers of two centuries, thrown promiscuously together without arrangement as to either parishes or dates, and those for the most part obliterated by the damp, I had the good fortune to recover the Landulph register for the year 1636, which had the following entry :

*“ Theodore Paleologus was buried the 20<sup>th</sup> daye of October.”*

By the monument Theodore is said to have died the 21st of January, 1636; from the register it appears he was buried October 20, 1636. It can hardly be supposed the body was kept from January till October, and the difficulty is increased from the knowledge, that by the mode of calculation in use at that time, the year commenced at Lady-day; so that if he died January 21, 1636, the 20th of October following must have been in 1637.

The body, if it remained any considerable time uninterred, would have been inclosed in a *lead* coffin; but this was not the case, for about twenty years ago, when the vault was accidentally opened, the coffin of Paleologus was seen, a *single oak coffin*; and curiosity prompting to lift the lid, the body of Paleologus was discovered, and in so perfect a state, as to ascertain him to have been in stature much above the common height, his countenance of an oval form,



much lengthened, and strongly marked by an aquiline nose, and a very white beard reaching low on the breast.

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### FAMILY OF THEODORE.

Of the five children left by him, no traces remain of two sons, John, and Ferdinando. Whether they joined the brothers of Sir Nicholas Lower, who were distinguished cavaliers on the king's side, in the unhappy wars that distracted the country soon after the death of Theodore, and in which Major Lower gallantly fell; or whether the miserable state of England induced them again to revisit Italy, cannot be ascertained.

Theodore was a sailor, and served on board the Charles II. Captain Gibson. He died at sea 1693, as appears by a will and power in the Commons, obligingly communicated to me by Francis Townsend, Esq. Windsor Herald. This is dated August 1, 1693, and solely in favour of his wife *Martha*. If he had any children, they are not named in it. The signature is *Theodore Paleology*; and though described simply as mariner, it should seem he was possessed of landed estate, as there are four witnesses, Charles Gibson, commander, J. Wright, John Corneth, Richard Roberts.

Mary Paleologus died at Landulph unmarried in 1674; and her sister Dorothy was married in 1656 to William Arundel, the grandson probably of Alexander Arundel, of Clifton. This marriage is registered at Landulph and St. Mellion, as solemnized in both parishes; the entry at the latter is "*Dorothea Paleologus de stirpe Imperatorum.*" Soon after their marriage they settled in St. Dominick, an adjoining parish, the registers of which having been accidentally destroyed, it is impossible now to determine if they had any issue, though it seems highly probable. They were both buried at Landulph, Dorothy in 1681, and her husband in 1684; and as some years after, a Mary Arundel was married to Francis Lee, the imperial blood perhaps still flows in the bargemen of Cargreen!

## APPENDIX.

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### *Extracts from Du Cange's Historia Byzantina.*

From the following it will appear that Theodore Paleologus the subject of this memoir, was not the first of his family who had visited England.

“Theodore Palæologus, qui Theodoric Paleologon, et patruus Imperatoris Constantinopolitani appellatur in computo subsidiorum pro defensione Christianitatis anni 1397 quod asservatur in Camera Computorum Parisiensi; ex quo docemur Theodorum venisse sub hæc tempora in Franciam et *Angliam*, regemque Carolum 6<sup>um</sup> diplomate 29 Januarii eodem anno 1397, 300 primum, aliosque deinde 18 Aprilis, & 24 Maii anno subsequente exaratis, 400 & 2000 francos aureos ex ipso subsidio percipiendos eidem indulsisse, in sui & sociorum et in *Angliam* itineris expensas. Theodori istius apud ejusce ævi scriptores fieri mentionem nondum advertimus.” (Du Cange's Hist. Byzant. p. 238.)

Thomas, when he fled to Rome, brought, it seems, a very acceptable present to his holiness Pius II., which may in part account for the liberal reception given him: ‘Deinde Romam venit, allatâ secum S. Andreæ Apostoli Calvariâ, quam ex urbe Patrensi, ubi asservabatur extraxerat.” (page 247.)

At page 254, Du Cange gives a long catalogue of branches of the Palæologi, “quorum stirps incerta.” The greater part of these lived long previous to the capture of Constantinople; of those subsequent, the principal are:

Thomas Palæologus, Gidus, cujus filius Amurathes Beglerbegus Orientis an. 1469 in prælio occubuit contra Ussuncasanem.

Demetrius Palæologus, Emanuel Palæologus, et Manuel Palæologus, Triches, Milites, expugnata a Turcis urbe, in Franciam profecti, a Carolo 7<sup>to</sup>. stipendia obtinuerunt 1454.”

Constantinus Palæologus, an. 1570.



Annibal Palæologus, circa an. 1570, cui uxor Melissendis de Leziniano Cypria et Lezinianus Pal. filius ejus, *Capitaneus Venetorum* in urbe Trevisana an. 1586.

Demetrius Palæologus & Philippus filius, Cypri 1570.

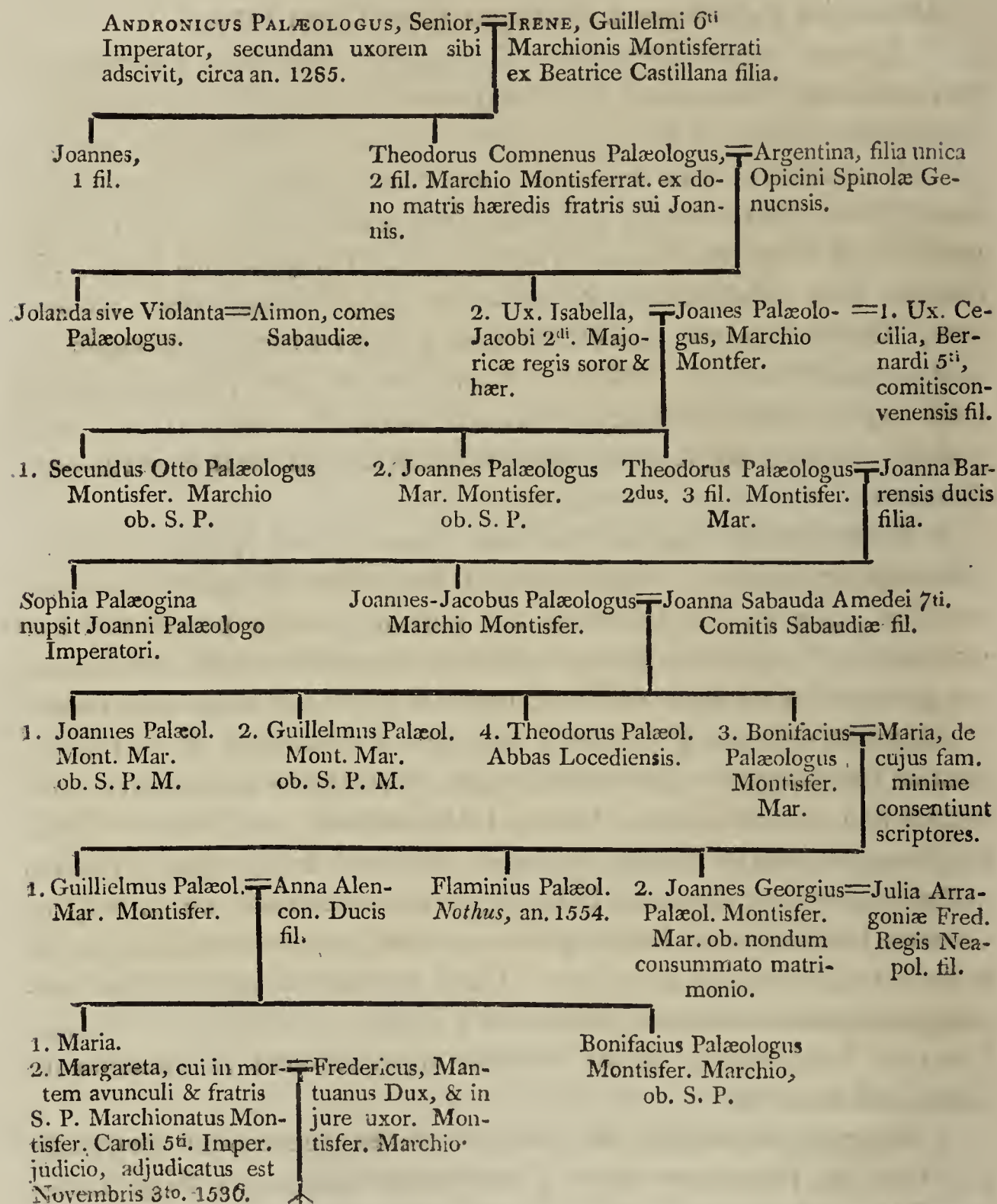
“Extant, inquit Theodosius Zygomalles, hodieque Constantino-  
poli domus quædam paucæ Palæologorum Constantini et Manuelis fra-  
trum germanorum, & aliæ plus minusve decem ex una quaque familia,  
quibus, mediocres opes suppetant, aut etiam *certæ artes*, studio sunt.  
Sane, Cantacuzenorum et aliorum nomina audiuntur; præterea Ma-  
malarum, & Notaradarum, quorum plerosque Peloponnesus habet; *La-  
tinorum item*, Muzalonum, Batazidarum, Diplobatazidarum, Asaneo-  
rum, Chrysolodarum, Lascaridarum, Eugenikorum aliorumque de  
quibus singulis scriptu difficile. Horum major pars redimunt vecti-  
galia regia, publicanorumque munere fungentes, annua tributa varii  
generis exigunt, eoque modo quidam ditescunt, alii verò miseriis con-  
flictantur.”

“Paleologorum nomine familiam *adhuc* extare testatur Guille-  
terius nuperus scriptor. Tradit insuper Sansovinus Eudæmoniojoannum  
familiam, quæ ex Peloponneso, ubi plurima prædia possidebat, hac  
provincia a Turcis expugnata, in Cretam insulam transiit, *Venetorum-  
que* obsequio se addixit, ex Palæologorum gente per masculos ortam.”

Meminit denique Franciscus Baronius a Manfredis Panormitanæ  
familiæ Palæologum cognomine insignis, traditque e Peloponneso pro-  
fectam sub annum Christi 1430, in Italia primum, ac deinde in Sici-  
lia Panormi sedem fixisse, jussuque Alphonsi Regis ejusce familiæ  
in Sicilia auctores deposita, Palæologum nomenclaturâ, ne in eos, ut  
Græcos, Latinorumque hostes gravius aliquid perpetrarent incolæ, *Vas-  
sallos* in posterum sese appellasse. Unde forsitan suspicari liceat du-  
plici appellatione donatos, priusquam è Morea excederent, dictosque  
Vatatzas Palæologos; quam priorem appellationem in Vassallorum  
postea commutarint.

“Georgius Paleologus de Bissipato, miles, (descended *maternally*  
only from the Palæologus family), perhumane acceptus a Rege Ludo-  
vico II<sup>do</sup>. in Franciam circa an. 1473 variis donatus est beneficiis.”—  
(Du Cange's Hist. Byzant. p. 255.)

## MARCHIONES MONTFERRATENSES EX GENTE PALÆOLOGA.





*Monuments of the LOWER Family in Landulph Church.*

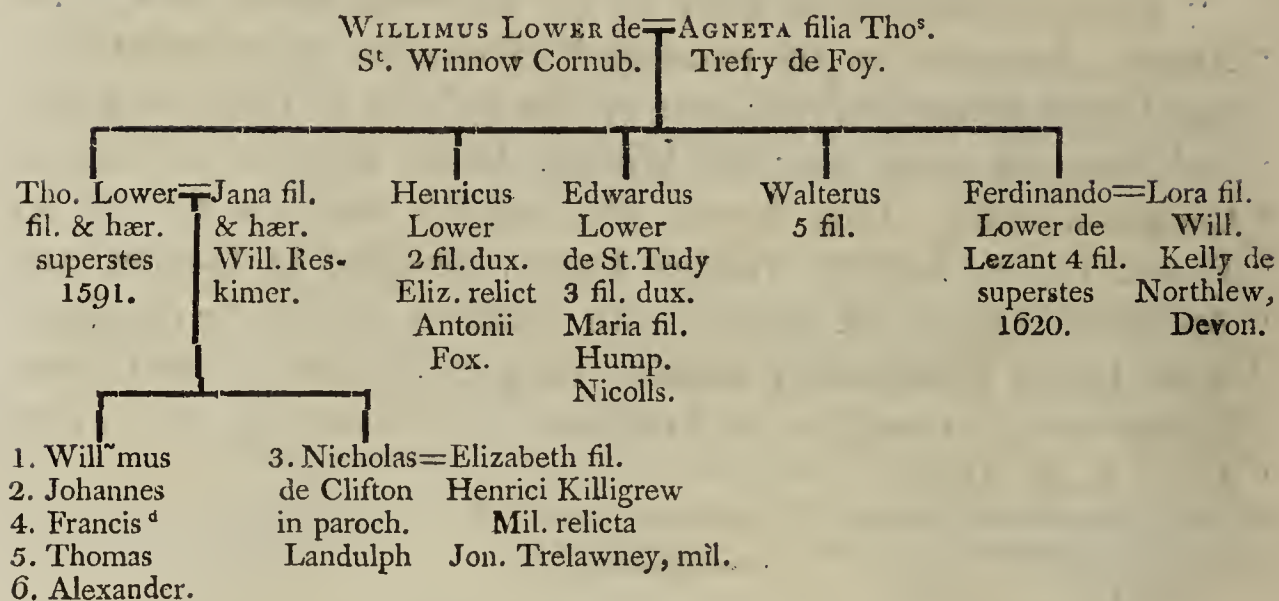
“ Here lieth buried the Body of Sir Nicholas Lower of Clifton,  
 “ Knight, descended of the house of St. Winnowe, the sonne of Tho-  
 “ mas Lower & Jane his wife, one of the Coheirs of Reskymar, who  
 “ had issue six sonns, viz: Sir William Lower Knight, deceased in  
 “ Carmarthenshire, John Lower, the said Sir Nicholas Lower, Sir  
 “ Francis Lower, Knight, Thomas Lower, deceased in London, and  
 “ Alexander Lower. He married with Elizabeth, one of the daughters  
 “ of Sir Henry Killigrew of London, Knight, & dyed without issue,  
 “ surrendering his soule to his Redeemer at Clifton, the 17<sup>th</sup> day of  
 “ May, A. D. 1655.”

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“ Here lyeth buried the body of Dame Elizabeth Lower, late wife  
 “ of Sir Nicholas Lower of Clifton Knight, daughter to Sir Henry  
 “ Killigrew of London Knight, anciently descended from the house  
 “ of Arwenick in Cornwall, and from the youngest of the learned  
 “ daughters of Sir Anthony Cook, Knight, a maid of honour to  
 “ Queen Elizabeth, who for true virtue, piety, and learning, came  
 “ nothing short (that I may modestly speak) of any of her ancestors,  
 “ and for her singular courtesy to all, and amiable subjection to her  
 “ husband (a virtue rare and high), I think can hardly be matched,  
 “ who deserves a far ampler character than can be contained in so  
 “ narrow a room. She died at Clifton 6th June, 1638, and expects  
 “ here a glorious resurrection.”

## THE LOWER PEDIGREE,

From General Morshead's Copy of the Visitation of 1620.



Of this family we find

“Major Lower, slain at the head of his party of horse in the battle of Lansdown.” *Fuller's Worthies*.

Sir William Lower, a bold partizan of Charles I. and author of six plays, who died in 1662.

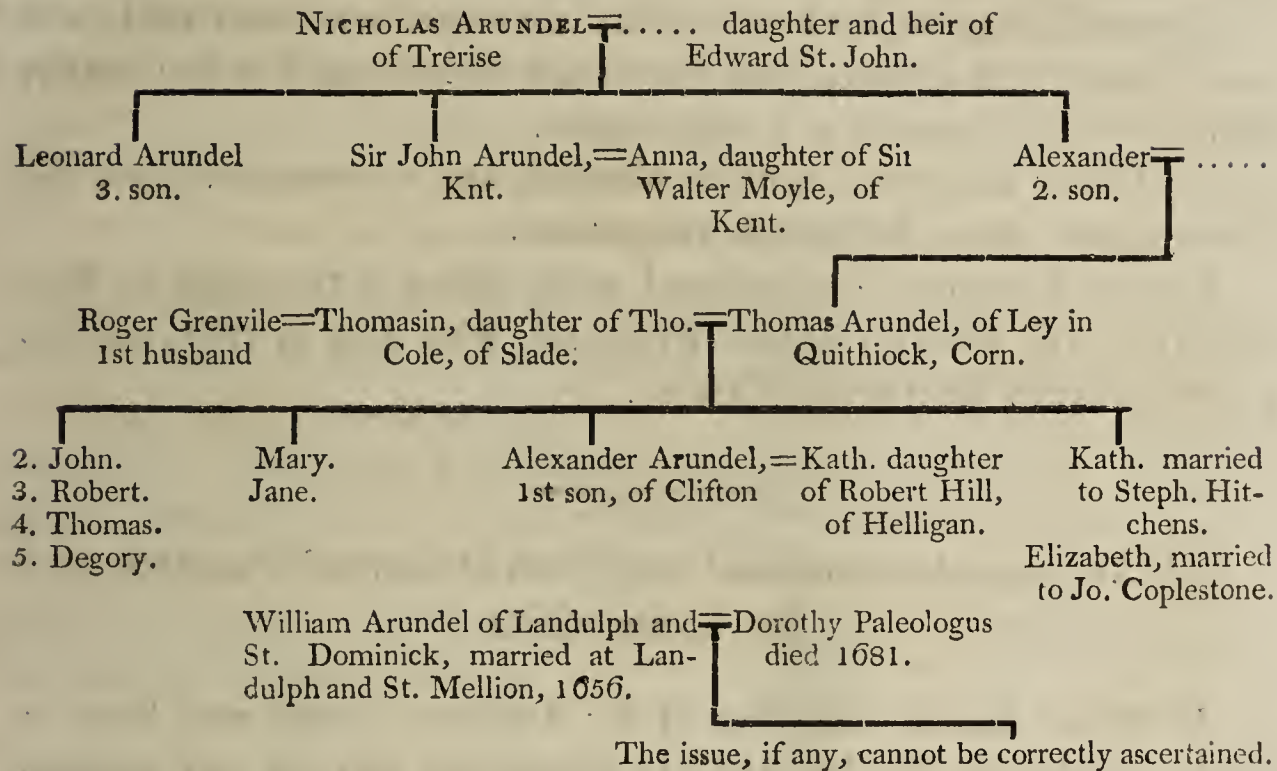
Dr. Richard Lower, a physician of great eminence, died in 1691.

<sup>d</sup> Since these observations were read, I have met with a copy of the Visitation varying from General Morshead's M. S. as well as the Visitation in the College of Arms. Sir Nicholas Lower had a brother, Sir Francis Lower, to whom no wife is assigned in the above pedigree, while in the College Visitation he is stated to have married a *Dutch* woman, but in the copy now in my possession she is called Antoneta, mulier Turcom. and daughter of Ocker, son of Sizzeksen; *Eastern* names certainly, and not Dutch. This lady was most probably a Greek, perhaps a relation of Theodore, and this seems to strengthen the conjecture on the causes of his residence at Clifton.



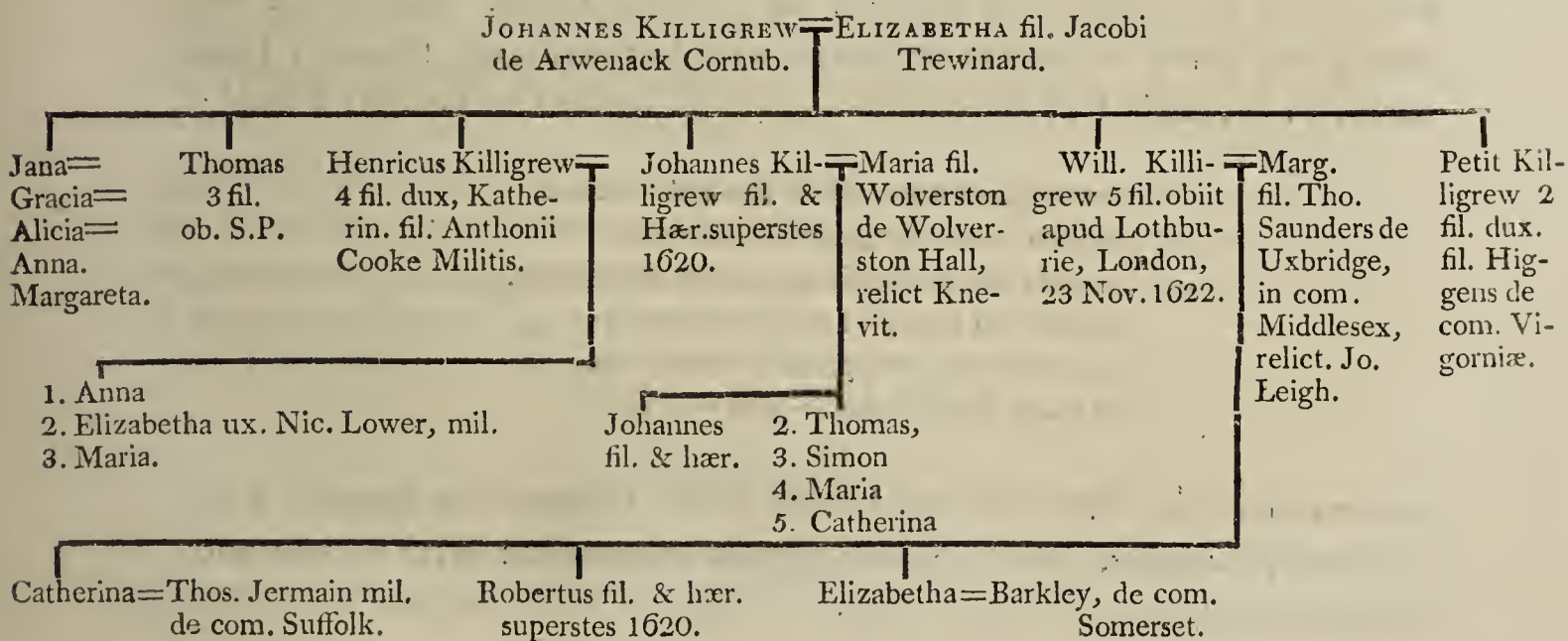
# PEDIGREE OF ARUNDEL OF CLIFTON,

From the Visitation of 1573.



## THE KILLIGREW PEDIGREE,

From General Morshead's M.S.



Of this family, besides Sir Henry Killigrew, were several eminent men; particularly Sir William Killigrew, author of several plays; among which, one was entitled "The Siege of Urbin."

Thomas Killigrew, his brother, the celebrated wit, born 1611, who was in exile with Charles, and the king's resident at Venice; author also of several dramatic and other works.

Dr. Henry Killigrew, another brother, also a dramatic writer, and his daughter Anne Killigrew, the poetess.

Admiral Killigrew, a celebrated naval officer in the reign of William III.; and General Robert Killigrew, who died in 1707, and has a monument in Westminster Abbey.

*Lady Katherine Killigrew, and her Sisters, the learned Daughters of  
Sir Anthony Cooke.*

*Katherine*, fourth daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, was born in 1530; celebrated for her skill in languages, and for her poetical talent, of which the following lines addressed to her sister, Lady Burleigh, afford a specimen. The subject of this poem, either a lover, a husband, or a friend of the writer's, was appointed by Queen Elizabeth as an ambassador to France, in perilous times. Katherine implores her sister to use her influence with her husband, the lord treasurer, to set aside this appointment, and to restore to her her friend:

" Si mihi quem cupio cures, Mildreda, remitti,  
 " Tu bona, tu melior, tu mihi sola soror;  
 " Sin malé cessando retines, & trans mare mittis,  
 " Tu mala, tu peior, tu mihi nulla soror;  
 " Is si *Cornubia*, tibi pax sit & omnia læta;  
 " Sin mare, *Ciciliæ* nuncio bella — Vale."

She was alive in 1576, and was buried in St. Thomas the Apostle, Vintry ward, London, where is an elegant monument with Greek and Latin inscriptions.



*Mildred*, eldest daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, born 1526; particularly learned in Greek, under the tuition of Mr. Lawrence, the celebrated Grecian. She translated part of Chrysostom's works, and wrote frequently Greek epistles. She was married in 1546 to Lord Burleigh; died 1589; buried in Westminster Abbey.

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*Anna*, second daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, born in 1528, was not less distinguished than her sister for talents and erudition. She was appointed governess to Edward VI. Married Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper. Translated twenty-five Sermons from the Italian of Bernardine Ductine, and "Jewel's Apology," which she sent to the bishop with an epistle in *Greek*. Died about the beginning of the reign of James I. at Gorhambury, near St. Alban's, Hertfordshire. Buried in St. Michael's church.

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*Elizabeth*, third daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, born in 1529, and instructed with her sisters in every liberal and elegant acquirement, surpassed them in her progress, and was celebrated by the first scholars of the age. She was first married to Sir Thomas Hobby; and secondly, to Lord John Russell, to whom, on his death in 1584, she erected a monument in Westminster Abbey, with inscriptions in Latin, *Greek*, and English. She translated some religious works from the German, and was living, though very infirm, in 1596. She was probably buried at Bisham, in Berkshire.

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#### CLIFTON.

One of the ancient franchises of Cornwall, lies at the northern extremity of the parish of Landulph, close to the river Tamar. The

situation is singularly beautiful, commanding above the different windings of this justly celebrated river in its most picturesque points of Pentillie Castle, Halton, and Cothele; and below, the woods of Warleigh and Tamerton, Saltash and Hamoaze, terminated by Mount Edgecombe and Maker Heights. The house, in common with most old mansions, lies very low, just on the edge of the water. It is at present, though inhabited by the farmer renting the Barton, almost a ruin; yet enough remains to prove that it was once a mansion of considerable respectability. The hall, carrying its massy arched ceiling to the roof of the house, and still retaining its gallery, and raised step in the floor for the high table; the ruins of a building yet called the Tower; a small spot of ground called the burying ground;<sup>e</sup> and the extent of the out-buildings, bespeak its former consequence.

Carew, who wrote about 1600, says, "Clifton, a neat seated house belonging to Arundel;" but Clifton passed out of the possession, or certainly out of the occupancy of the Arundel family, early after the time Carew wrote his history: for in 1630 the Lower family were living here, as appears by dates on the out-buildings at Clifton, and their arms on the Clifton seats in Landulph church. On the deaths of Sir Nicholas and Lady Lower without issue, the estate went to Lady Lower's sister, (another daughter of Sir Henry Killigrew), who married Sir Reginald Mohun. The Mohun family also becoming extinct in the death of Charles Lord Mohun, killed in a duel with Duke Hamilton in 1713, Clifton, with the other Mohun property, was purchased by Governor Pitt, grandfather of the first Lord Camelford; and came recently into the possession of Lady Grenville, who has sold it to me.

<sup>e</sup> In the wall of the house immediately adjoining this spot, was many years ago discovered a small recess walled up, and which contained two or three pieces of fine earthenware of peculiar form, and remains of some very rich vestments, apparently silk embroidered with gold or silver; tradition assigned them to holy uses, and as belonging to *strangers of a foreign religion* who once lived at Clifton.



## PESARO.

*Pesaro*, lordship and city, in the duchy of Urbino;<sup>f</sup> anciently *Pisaurum*, a city built and inhabited by the ancient Senones, and placed by Ptolemy between Fanam Fortunæ (now Fano) and Arminium, now Rimini. It extends on the Adriatic coast between these two towns. *Pesaro* city, between Sinigaglia to east, and Rimini to west, 18 miles north-east of Urbino, 37 miles east of Ancona, and 135 north of Rome, east long. 45. 40, lat. 43. 57, is delightfully and commodiously situated on an eminence at the mouth of the river Trogia on the Adriatic coast, and surrounded with fertile hills on the land side, and justly esteemed one of the pleasantest and most flourishing in the whole duchy. It is large, well-built, in a serene healthy air, except during the months of July and August, when it is very sultry. The country is full either of pastures or vineyards, and produces abundantly figs and olives, the former famed over Italy. The bishopric is under Urbino, metropolitan, and Pope Clement XI. (born here) built a magnificent cathedral. It has some good, though old fortifications. The houses are handsome, and there is a spacious stately piazza, adorned with a noble fountain, and a statue of Pope Urban VIII. It was destroyed by Totila, and rebuilt by Belisarius.

By the map of Italy, *Pesaro* is distant about fifty miles only from Florence, where, in the fifteenth century, public schools were instituted for the study of the *Greek* tongue, and where many *learned Greeks*, after the capture of Constantinople, were induced, from the character of Cosmo de Medici as a promoter of letters, to seek an asylum, from whom they met with a welcome and honourable re-

<sup>f</sup> A description of the city and ducal palace of Urbino, entitled “*Memorie concenente la Citta di Urbino*,” folio, printed at the Vatican, 1724, has a curious dedication to the Pretender under the title of “*Giacomo 3. Re della Gran Bretagne*.”

ception. Amongst these were Demetrius Chalcondyles, Johannes Andronicus, Calistus, Constantius, and Johannes Lascaris. *Roscoe's Lorenzo de Medici.*

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In the Harleian Miscellany is a curious account of an entertainment given to a British embassy at Pesaro in the reign of Queen Mary, when passing through the city on their way to Rome.



XIV. *Remarks on the Antiquity and Introduction of Surnames into England.* By JAMES H. MARKLAND, Esq. F. S. A.

Read December 15, 1814.

It may possibly be considered an inquiry, rather curious than useful, to trace from the earlier periods of our history the practice of assuming *Surnames*,<sup>a</sup> and to ascertain at what time this custom became established in England. Of the various *classes* into which they may be divided, it is not my intention to speak, further than to notice, very briefly, the most obvious sources whence they were *at first* derived in this country. This branch of the subject would lead me into a much wider field than the present limits admit, and as it has already engaged the attention of different antiquaries, amongst whom Camden stands foremost, the reader, who may be tempted to inspect a minute classification of them, will find in his "Remaines" materials sufficiently copious to satisfy his curiosity.

Although adventitious circumstances might occasionally confer an additional name upon an individual, as a mark of honour or disgrace, (proofs of which we find upon record amongst the earliest nations of the world,) yet the succession of them in one family, passing from a father to his posterity, as fixed and settled appellations, cannot, I apprehend, be traced to a period more remote than during the existence of the Roman republic, in its most flourishing state. Amongst the Patrician orders, for to them only the custom appears to have

<sup>a</sup> "Hæc cognomina in Chartis, maximè in subscriptionibus, non continuo ac recto ordine post nomen, sed supra inter lineas adscribi solebant; unde et *Supra-nomina* dicta volunt viri docti, quæ vox reperitur in chartariis maximè Italicis, transitque ad nostrum Gallicum idioma, vulgò *Surnom*." Du Cange Gloss. Voce Cognomen.

"Vulgò, sed non adèdè rectè, *Surname*. a G. Surnom, It. Sopranome, Cognomen, q. d. Supernomen, i. e. Nomen addititium, sc. respectu nominis baptismo inditi." Lye's Junius, Voce Surname.

extended, each person had commonly three names: first, the *prænomen*, which answered to our christian name; second, the *nomen*, which marked the *gens* or *stock*, corresponding with the word *clan* in Scotland, and was borne by all the families that branched from it; and third, the *cognomen*, or Surname, which distinguished the particular *familia* of the *gens* or clan to which the individual belonged. Thus the celebrated family of Scipio was a branch of the *gens* or stock of the Cornelii; and from the noble race of the Fabii sprung eight distinct families, as the Ambusti, Vibulani, &c.; but to multiply proof on this head would be useless. The *nomen* and *cognomen* generally remained fixed and certain; but though it is said by Dr. Adam,<sup>b</sup> that they were common to *all* the children of a family, and descended to their posterity, it would appear from the same writer, and from the various authorities he has adduced, that this rule applied solely to males, and that daughters were usually styled by the name of the *gens* or *nomen* only, which they retained after their marriage. Females were further distinguished by their number, as *prima*, *secunda*, &c., and occasionally received a *prænomen*. The doubt entertained, as to the *descent* of surnames amongst the Roman people, has probably arisen from the circumstance of the three names being seldom used together; and in addressing any one, it appears that the *prænomen*, as a distinction peculiar to citizens, was alone employed.<sup>c</sup>

On the subversion of liberty, these marks of hereditary descent became gradually confounded and neglected; and during the dark ages of the western world, the use of them seems to have been wholly discontinued.

The introduction of Surnames into France and England appears nearly coeval, that is, about the tenth or eleventh century; but until the period of the Conquest, they gained little ground amongst us.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Adam's Roman Antiquities, pp. 32. 34.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 33.

<sup>d</sup> "About the year 1000 (that we may not minute out the time) surnames began to be taken up in France—but not in England till about the Conquest, or else a very little before, under King Edward the Confessor, who was all frenchified. And to this time do the Scot-



The assumption of them was at first chiefly confined to the higher orders of society, and the most customary source whence they were derived seems to have been from the names of *places* granted to, or possessed by different persons, who having originally inserted the prepositions *dè* or *à* between their christian name and *local denomination*, by degrees sunk them, and thus of the latter formed surnames, which have continued in use to the present hour. The second of these sources may be traced to the *employment*, in which individuals of high rank were engaged, either around the person of the king, or under the crown. Of these, many instances may also be found yet remaining, the names of Grosvenor and Vavasour being two, to each of which the particle "le" was originally prefixed. It may here be added, that with the exception of a third class, namely, those surnames derived from christian names, and before which, in a few instances, *fitz* has been substituted for the Latin *filius*, (synonymous with *mac* and *ap* in the Scotch and Welch languages;) the two former classes are still the most common in England. This may naturally be accounted for, from the circumstance of vassals and dependants following the example of their lords, and either styling themselves of the castle, town, or village, to which they belonged, or wherein they resided, or of the trade and condition in life, however humble it might be, that they followed.

Thus arbitrarily assumed, as accident or caprice determined, Surnames were changed and altered equally at the pleasure of the bearer, and they can scarcely be said to be *permanently settled* in this country until the æra of the Reformation. It is owing to this circum-

tish men also referre the antiquity of their Surnames, altho' Buchanan supposed that they were not in use in Scotland, many years after. Yet in England certain it is, that as the *better sort*, even from the Conquest, by *little and little*, took Surnames, so they were not settled among the common people fully untill about the time of King Edward 2<sup>d</sup>, but still varied according to the Father's name, as Richard-son, if his father were Richard," &c. &c. Camden's Remaines, ed. 1657, p. 109.

\* Boucher's Supplement to Johnson's Dictionary, voce. "*Ap.*" Thus also in the Hebrew the word "*Ben*", as Ben-David, Ben-Joseph, &c.

stance, as Camden justly observes, that the truth of our pedigrees has become so intricate and obscure; insomuch, he continues, "that it will be no little labour to deduce many of them truly from the Conquest."<sup>f</sup> This remark, the truth of which every genealogist and topographer must admit, has been recently confirmed by the Messrs. Lysons in their History of Cheshire, a county remarkable for the number of its resident families of great antiquity. Those intelligent writers inform us, "that it was very usual for younger branches of a family" laying aside the name of their father, "to take their name from the place where they fixed their residence, and we thus sometimes find in three descents as many different surnames in the same family. This circumstance has occasioned much obscurity in the early history of families, and is the most probable reason why so few of them are to be traced to a still more remote period than the thirteenth century."<sup>g</sup> Where there were several sons in one family, instances are also found where *each* brother assumed a different surname;<sup>h</sup> and proofs also appear of sons assuming the name of the mother, especially when she happened to be an heiress.<sup>i</sup> Nor do we labour under difficulties from these circumstances only, but from the unsettled state of our orthography prior and somewhat subsequent to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it is occasionally difficult to determine, whether parties bearing a name similar in sound and pronunciation, are related or not. Of this carelessness and inattention I may here mention as a proof, that in an instrument I have seen, executed by four brothers of the name of Rugely in the sixteenth century, no two of them spelt their name alike. Dr. Chandler also tells us, in his life of Waynflete, that he had noticed seventeen modes of spelling that name.<sup>k</sup> It might indeed be conjectured that these variations were sometimes *intentional*, could any probable motive be assigned for such a practice.

With respect to ecclesiastics, or, as they are styled by Holinshed, "spiritual men," it was, according to that historian, an almost inva-

<sup>f</sup> Camd. Remaines, pp. 138, 139.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. p. 141.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. p. 142.

<sup>g</sup> Lysons's Cheshire, p. 357.

<sup>k</sup> Life of Waynflete, p. 13.



riable "fashion to take awaie the father's surname (where it never so worshipful or ancient,) and give him for it the name of the towne he was born in."<sup>1</sup> Of this practice amongst the clergy, especially on their entering into holy orders, innumerable instances occur, but it may be sufficient to quote the two celebrated prelates, William of Wykeham, whose father's name was Longe,<sup>m</sup> and William Waynflete, who, as an unbeneficed Acolyte, is found in the episcopal register of Lincoln (as Dr. Chandler conjectures) under the name of William Barbor,<sup>n</sup> and which he dropped on becoming a subdeacon shortly afterwards.<sup>o</sup>

"The usage," thus alluded to by Holinshed, observes Dr. Chandler, "was certainly common on taking orders; but though it probably continued to the æra of the Reformation, appears to have fallen soon after into oblivion; for an opinion that the family of William was called Waynflete, had prevailed so strongly, as to occasion Budden the labour of some pages to confute it, and to establish a different appellation. He has cited Holinshed, yet seems not aware of the *fashion*, but supposes that the father of William, as the shoots of the generous stock from which he sprung were numerous, had, to avoid confusion, assumed as his distinction the local denomination."<sup>p</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Holinshed's Chronicle, p. 232. "Hæc cognomina raro imponebantur Episcopis, Clericis, Monachis: forsan quod illorum dignitas et tituli essent cognomenti loco ad eos designandos; neque scommatica vocabula decerunt sacri ordinis Ministros; nec dignitatum sæcularium nomina, quæ à prædiis deducta erant, eis convenirent." Du Cange Gloss. voce Cognomen:

<sup>m</sup> Lowth's Life of Wykeham, p. 9.

<sup>n</sup> The father of Waynflete was called indifferently Richard Patten or Barbour, notwithstanding the perfect dissimilarity of the two names. There are, however, proofs that the former was considered the proper surname of the bishop's family. On the tomb of Richard are the arms of Patten, and which, with certain variations made by the bishop, are also to be found on the seal of Magdalen College Oxford, &c. Godwin (de Præsul. Angliæ, p. 233) calls Waynflete, "filius Ricardi Patten," and further observes, "Hinc patet cognomen illi genuinum fuisse Pattini, Waynfleti ascititium, ex more illius temporis clericorum."

<sup>o</sup> Life of Waynflete, p. 10.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid, p. 12.

During the civil wars that took place in the reign of Henry IV, several ancient families totally changed their names for the purpose of concealment, as the Blunts of Buckinghamshire, who took the name of Croke, the Caringtons of Warwickshire that of Smith; &c. &c.<sup>a</sup>; and Mr. Barrington, in his *Observations on the Statutes*, conjectures, that one reason for passing the Statute of Additions (1 Hen. V. cap. 5.) might have arisen from the frequency of this practice.<sup>r</sup>

It thus appears, that from the earliest periods, Surnames in England have been perfectly optional, and though custom and convenience may have sanctioned the practice of the son bearing the name of his father, there cannot, it is apprehended, be found any regulation of an imperative nature to controul the choice of an individual. In ancient times, a few instances occur of application to the Crown for liberty to change a surname: \* these probably arose from a feeling of courtesy to the reigning monarch, but it no where appears that such authority, however obtained, was considered to be essential and indispensable.

The law seems originally to have regarded a change of surname, even in the most solemn acts, with great indifference. Lord Coke observes, "It is requisite that a purchaser be named by the name of baptism, and his surname, and that special need be taken to the name of baptism, for that a man cannot have two names of baptism, as he may have divers surnames." And again, "It is holden in our ancient books that a man may have divers *names* at divers times, but not divers *christian-names*."<sup>t</sup> A change even in the christian-name was however permitted to be *once* made, as we find that before the revisal of the liturgy in the reign of Charles the Second, the bishop, in performing the office of confirmation, mentioned the christian-name of the person confirmed, and which, if it were the wish of the party, was altered by the bishop pronouncing a new name on administering this rite, and the common law sanctioned the alteration.<sup>u</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 51.

<sup>r</sup> Barrington's *Observations*, p. 372.

<sup>s</sup> Camden's *Remaines*, p. 144.

<sup>t</sup> Co. Litt. B. 1. a. 3.

<sup>u</sup> Ibid. Burn's *Eccles. Law*. article Confirmation.



Shepherd, in his *Touchstone* (p. 232), observes, "If one that is a bastard hath gotten a name by reputation in the place where he doth live, and another man hath gotten another name by common esteem, than his own right name, or is usually called by another name than his true name in the place where he lives, in these cases they may grant by this name, and the grant is good." The question how far it is lawful for an individual to assume a surname at pleasure, came before Sir Joseph Jekyll, when Master of the Rolls, in the year 1730, who, in giving judgment upon the case,<sup>x</sup> remarked, "I am satisfied the usage of passing Acts of Parliament for the taking upon one a surname is but modern; and that any one may take upon him what surname, and as many surnames as he pleases, without an act of parliament." The decree in the above cause was reversed in the House of Lords,<sup>y</sup> where it was determined, that to satisfy the words of the will, and become entitled to the legacy in question, the individual ought to have inherited by *birth*, or have obtained an *authority* for using the name of the testator. Although it is pretty clear, from this decision, and from cases more recently determined,<sup>z</sup> that the courts at the present day would not consider a surname as *lawfully* assumed, unless the individual had previously taken one of the customary steps, and procured either an act of parliament or the King's licence for that purpose; yet, from the facts and deductions here stated, it would seem that the Master of the Rolls had good ground for making his decree. The law, as it stands, however, has grown out of the *practice*, and common prudence dictates that the assumption of a new surname should now be accompanied by such an authority as may establish beyond all question the legality of the act.

<sup>x</sup> *Barlow v. Bateman*, 3 P. Williams, 65.

<sup>y</sup> 4 Brown's Parl. Cases, 194.

<sup>z</sup> See the case of *Leigh v. Leigh*, reported in 15 Vesey 92; and others there quoted.

XV. *An Account of the Remains of several Roman Buildings and other Roman Antiquities discovered in the County of Gloucester.* By SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. V. P. F. R. S.

Read May 5th and 12th, 1808, and February 11th, 1813.

*Discoveries at Comb End.*

IN the year 1789 I communicated to this Society some account of the remains of a Roman building which had been discovered in 1779 and 1787 at Comb-End Farm, in the parish of Colesbourn, belonging to Samuel Bowyer, Esq. about six miles distant from the Roman station of *Corinium*, now Cirencester; which account is printed in the ninth volume of the *Archaeologia*. In the year 1794 I had an opportunity of investigating another part of the same remains, when in the month of October an opening was made about fifty feet east of the pavement discovered in 1779, at a place where the inequality of the ground seemed to indicate the remains of some building underneath, and the foundation walls of a room thirty-eight feet in length and fifteen in width soon appeared; the walls were of stone, somewhat more than two feet thick. At one end appeared a large flue with two returns, full of burnt wood and ashes, and a place scooped out in hard clay, which seemed to have been the fire-place. Here was found a great quantity of wheat, apparently burnt, and a fragment of an earthenware colander, an iron hatchet, and a large iron instrument in the shape of a horse-shoe, evidently designed for chopping; from all these circumstances, it seems most probable that this room was a kitchen. Several Roman coins of the lower Empire, of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, were found among the rubbish, and many fragments of brick funnels near the flues above-mentioned.

At the distance of about sixty feet north-east of the long passage discovered in 1779, were several remains of walls, being a part



of that extensive range of buildings which I formerly mentioned, as having been discovered by the labourers in grubbing up a small coppice, and destroyed before they were seen by any one capable of giving a satisfactory account of them. Upon removing the earth from these remains, they appeared to consist of three rooms and part of a narrow passage: one of these rooms was twenty feet long and thirteen wide, and in one corner were remains of a mosaic pavement of a coarse kind. The passage, which was five feet wide, had a mosaic pavement, ornamented with a chequered pattern of blue and white, and bordered with several stripes of brown, of which twelve feet in length remained. One of the rooms had a mosaic pavement nearly entire, ornamented with circles, &c., within a double fret border.

The third room had no mosaic pavement; but nearly the whole of what remained of the wall on the east side was covered with paintings on stucco. I believe this to be the only fragment of the kind hitherto discovered in this island, in its original position; on the lower part several figures, and part of a building, were distinctly to be traced, rather rudely executed; and beneath them a sort of curtain, of an orange colour, which extended to the bottom of the wall. In all probability these several detached rooms above-mentioned, as discovered at different times, were parts of one building, the villa of a Roman of some rank, from the neighbouring station of *Corinium*; and by the labourers' account of what had been found and destroyed by them in the year 1779, it must have been of large extent.

#### *Discoveries at Rodmarton.*

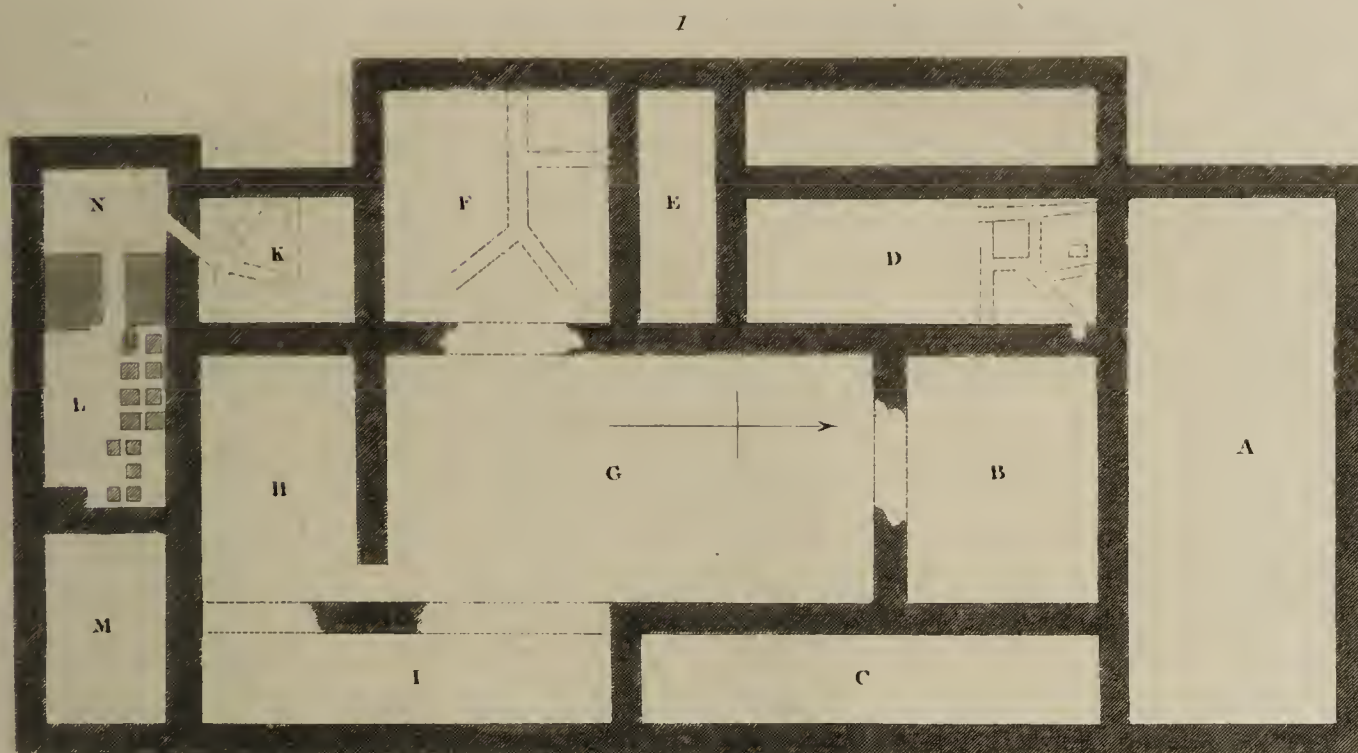
The parish of Rodmarton is bounded on the south by the great Foss way, which here separates the counties of Gloucester and Wilts, and the village is situated on another Roman road leading from Cirencester towards the old passage over the river Severn. Roman antiquities were discovered in this parish in a large arable

field called Hockbury, lying about a quarter of a mile north-east of the church, as early as the year 1630, when the following entry appears in the parish register, made by the Rev. Job Yate, the then rector: "Hoc anno in agris in loco Hocberry vocato, dum sulcos aratro ducunt, discooperta sunt tessellata pavimenta, tegulæ quibus ferrei clavi infixi subrutæ, nummi quoque ænei Antonini et Valentiniani Imp̃p̃: Incolæ mihi dixerunt, se æneos et argenteos nummos sæpius ibidem reperiisse, nescientes quid rei essent: a patribus autem audivisse, Rodmerton ab illo loco translatam olim ubi nunc est positam esse. Apparet autem stationem aliquam Romanorum ibidem aliquando fuisse."

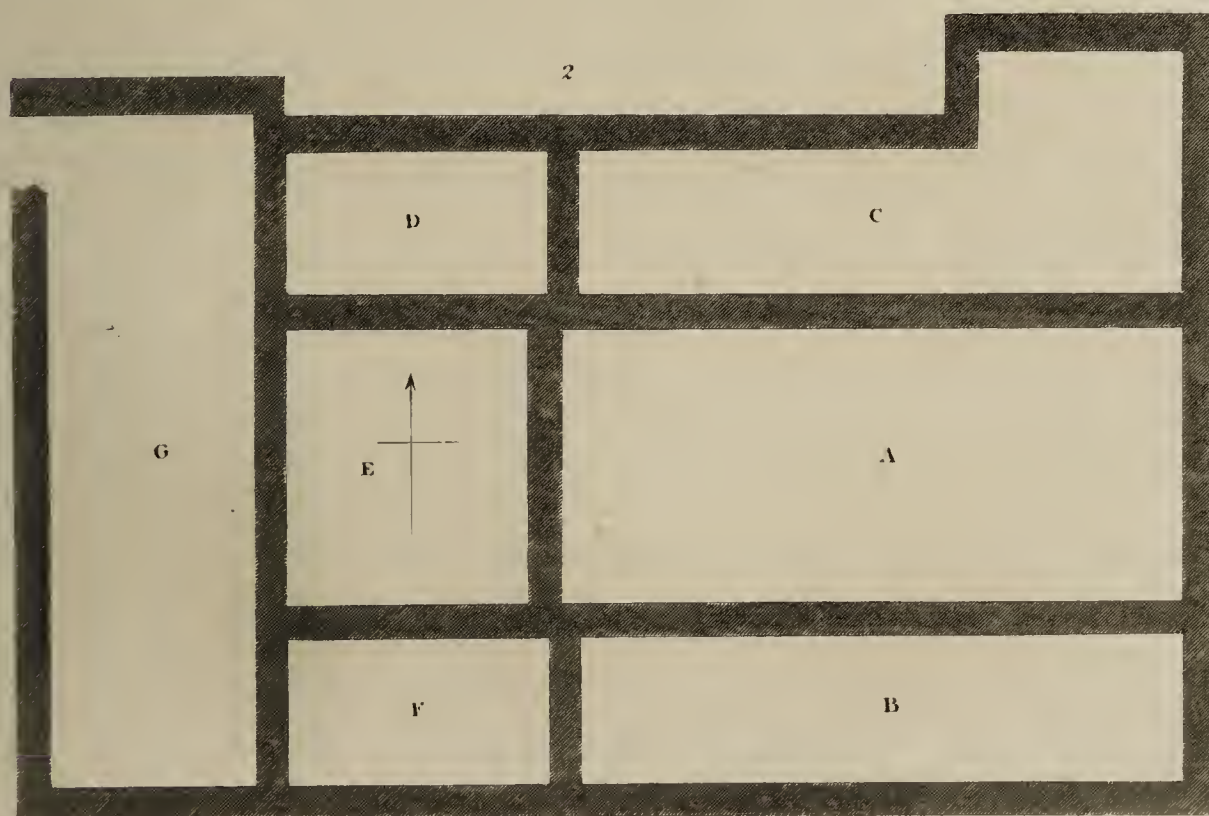
The tradition here alluded to is still kept up, and though no traces of buildings are to be seen above the surface of the field, the inhabitants of the village are all fully persuaded that the church was originally begun to be built in that field, but that what was erected in the day was removed at night by the devil, to the place where it now stands. About twelve years ago, several urns of coarse earthen-ware, with bones in them, were discovered in Hockberry; a Roman brick, two feet square and three inches thick, was ploughed up in the same place. Having no doubt that this was part of the covering of the flues of an hypocaust, I was induced to investigate the spot, where it was found: accordingly, in the beginning of the year 1800, a long trench being dug, soon brought to light the foundation of a stone wall two feet thick, lying about a foot below the surface of the earth, and remaining to the height of about two feet. By following the course of the foundations, in a few days, the whole extent of the building was discovered, which appeared to have been a house of moderate size, the whole space which it occupied being eighty-six feet four inches by forty feet eight inches. The room, (A in the plan, pl. v. fig. 1.), of which the foundation walls were first discovered, appeared to have been thirty-four feet seven inches long, and thirteen feet nine inches wide. Adjoining this, on the south side, were two others (marked B and C), the floors of which were pitched with stone; in the former, the pitching was covered with a coat of terras, about three inches thick. The space (G) in the middle of the building, which is most likely to have been an open



## Plate V.



*Plan of a Roman Building, discovered at Rodmarton in Gloucestershire.*



*Plan of a Roman building discovered in the parish of Cheriton in Gloucestershire.*

10 20 Feet





court, was also pitched. The several rooms marked D F and K on the western side of the building, appeared to have had mosaic pavements, a small portion of which remained in each. Under the floors of all of them were flues of stone, some of which were eleven inches wide, others seven inches and a half, and eighteen inches deep, covered with large stones : these are expressed in the plan by dotted lines.

The pavements appeared to have been of a coarse kind, on which no ornament was to be seen, except stripes of blue, red, and white. It is not clear that these flues were intended for any other purpose than that of keeping the several rooms dry ; for though one of them opened into the *præfurnium* of the hypocaust, it was not constructed in the same manner as those which are to be seen in the remains of other Roman buildings for heating rooms ; nor had the opening into the *præfurnium* the appearance of a fire-place. The part marked L was a hypocaust, thirteen of the piers of which remained in their places : these were twenty-one inches in height ; they were formed of bricks two inches thick ; those at the top and bottom were a foot square, the others eight inches and a half ; the mortar between them was three quarters of an inch in thickness. No doubt the large brick nearly two feet square, which had been accidentally discovered in ploughing, as before mentioned, was one of those which had lain on the top and joined the piers.<sup>a</sup> The spaces between the piers (which varied from seven to ten inches) were filled with rubbish ; between two of those piers more than two hundred copper coins were found, lying all together ; they were of the lower empire, from Constantine to Gratian, many of them in the most perfect state of preservation, but none of them valuable for their rarity. In the *præfurnium* were considerable remains of burnt wood and ashes, among which were several bones of animals ; here were also found fragments of a colander, and several other coarse earthen vessels, and an instrument of iron, which seemed to have been

<sup>a</sup> This hypocaust nearly resembled one found at Lincoln in the year 1740, of which an engraving was published by the Society of Antiquaries, in the *Monumenta Vetusta*, vol. I. pl. LVII ; where it will be seen that the piers were formed of bricks 8 inches square, over which were placed others 18 inches square, and at the top were bricks 23 inches square.

intended for culinary purposes; from these it may be conjectured that the *præfurnium* of the hypocaust served for the purposes of cookery. An iron ring for the finger was also found in the same place, which I conceive to be a great curiosity: it is of the same form as the antique ones of gold usually were, and has an intaglia of blue paste with a figure of Mars rudely executed. An elegant fibula of copper, in the highest state of preservation, ornamented with two serpents heads, was also found here.

The foundation walls of this building were all of the stone of the country, but there appeared to have been a considerable portion of brick used in the superstructure, as great quantities were found among the rubbish in every direction; the bricks varied from three quarters of an inch to one inch in thickness, and were most probably used in the walls, many of them being turned up on the side with a face of two inches wide, exactly resembling those which I found forming layers in the stone walls of the Roman building at Woodchester, and which was a mode of building frequently used by the Romans in Britain. Several of these bricks were stamped with four letters, of which stamps there were three varieties, viz. TPFC, TPFA and TPEP. A great number of heavy hexagonal stone tiles, some of them with the nails remaining in them, were also found in the remains of this building. The tiles mentioned by Mr. Yate, as found here in 1630, lying on the pavement then discovered, were no doubt of the same sort. Nothing is more common in the discovery of similar remains, than to find stone stiles lying on them, which circumstance has frequently led to a conjecture that they had been laid down for the preservation of the pavements, on the Romans quitting this island; when the reason of their being so found, appears to have arisen from the buildings having been only of one story, frequently of timber: and when destroyed by fire, as this at Rodmarton, and several others appear to have been, large portions of the roof falling on the pavement, would be very likely to occasion the appearance here noticed.



*Discoveries in the Parish of Cherington.*

There is an arable field called Hailston, in the parish of Cherington, belonging to the rector, lying very near to the Roman road above mentioned, as leading from Cirencester to the Severn, at the distance of about three miles from the Roman building last described. Here the country people told me, that they often ploughed up coins; and I found that they had a tradition among them of a town having formerly stood there. On walking over the ground after some heavy rains, I found several small copper Roman coins of the lower empire: small pieces of scoria of iron were scattered about the field in great abundance. As the inequality of the surface in one part of the field seemed to indicate the remains of a building underneath, and finding also that here the plough often struck against large stones, I made an opening in the spring of the year 1795, and soon discovered several walls two feet six inches in width, built of the stone of the country, roughly hewn; in some places they remained to the height of about two feet, in others they had been destroyed down to the foundation, but enough remained in every part to shew the entire plan of the building, eighty-two feet three inches in length, and fifty-four feet three inches wide. (See Pl. v. fig. 2.)

It appeared to consist of seven divisions, some of them of large dimensions; that marked A seemed to have been a court: it was paved with large rough stones. No remains of flues or pavements were to be found, nor of brick tiles, or other indications of a Roman dwelling; it is therefore probable that this building was used either for the purposes of agriculture or of manufacture. Many of the pieces of scoria of iron above-mentioned having been found within these walls, adds weight to the latter opinion. It should be mentioned, that several Roman copper coins of the lower empire were also found among these remains.

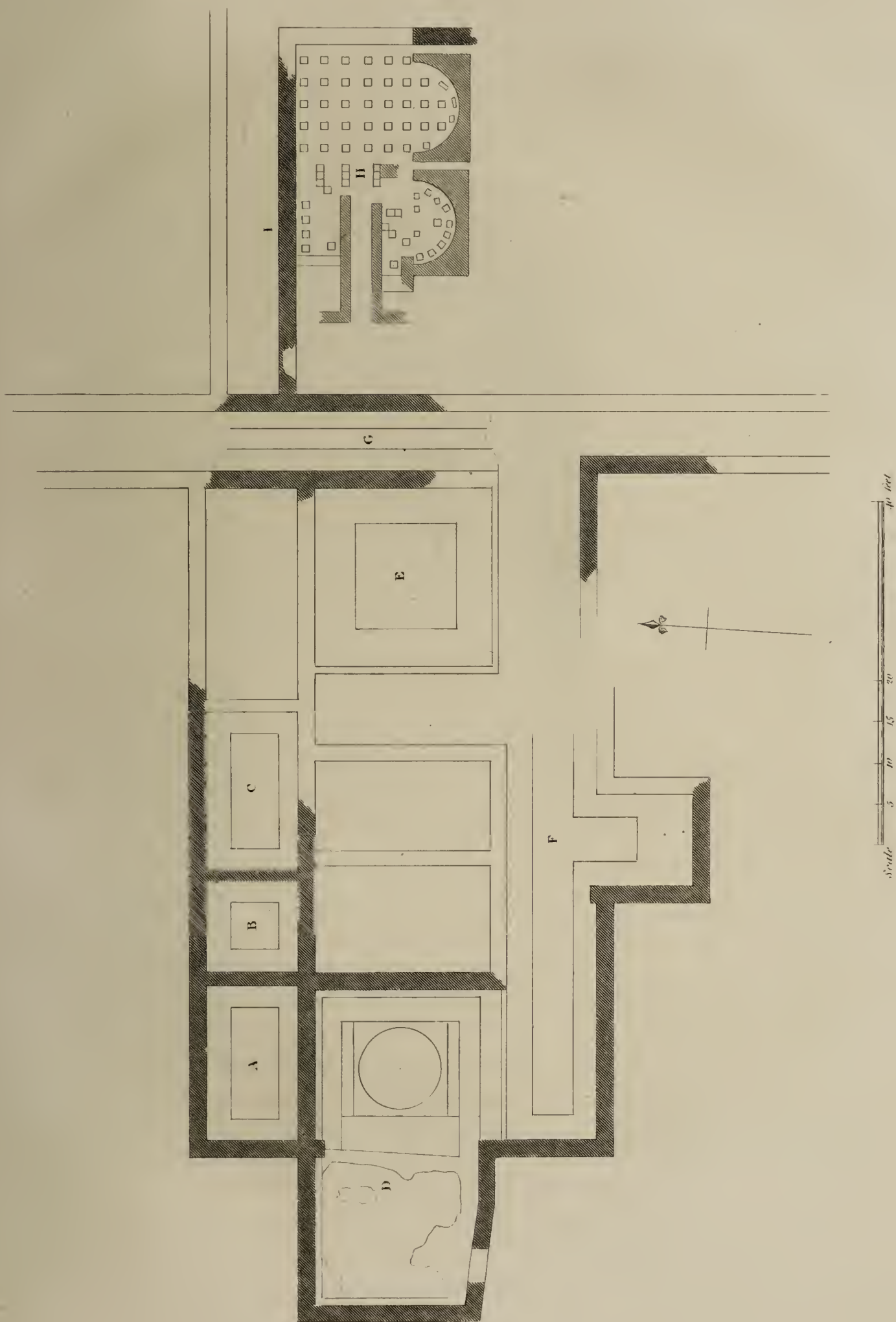
*Discoveries at Withington.*

The remains of a Roman villa were accidentally discovered in the autumn of the year 1811, in the parish of Withington, by some men at plough in the common field, on a piece of land about half a mile south of the village of Withington, belonging to Henry Charles Brooke, Esq. and Mrs. Nicholls. This part of the field is called the Old Town, or Withington upon Wall-Well; from a fine spring so named which rises near it, and which no doubt takes its name from the remains of walls which formerly appeared in its vicinity: it is about nine miles distant from the Roman town of *Corinium*, now Cirencester, and fourteen from the colony of *Glevum*, now Gloucester, two of the most considerable stations of the Romans in this part of England. A portion of the mosaic pavement, which formed the floor of the room marked C in the plan (Pl. vi.) was first discovered by the plough, and part of that marked E soon afterwards by digging.

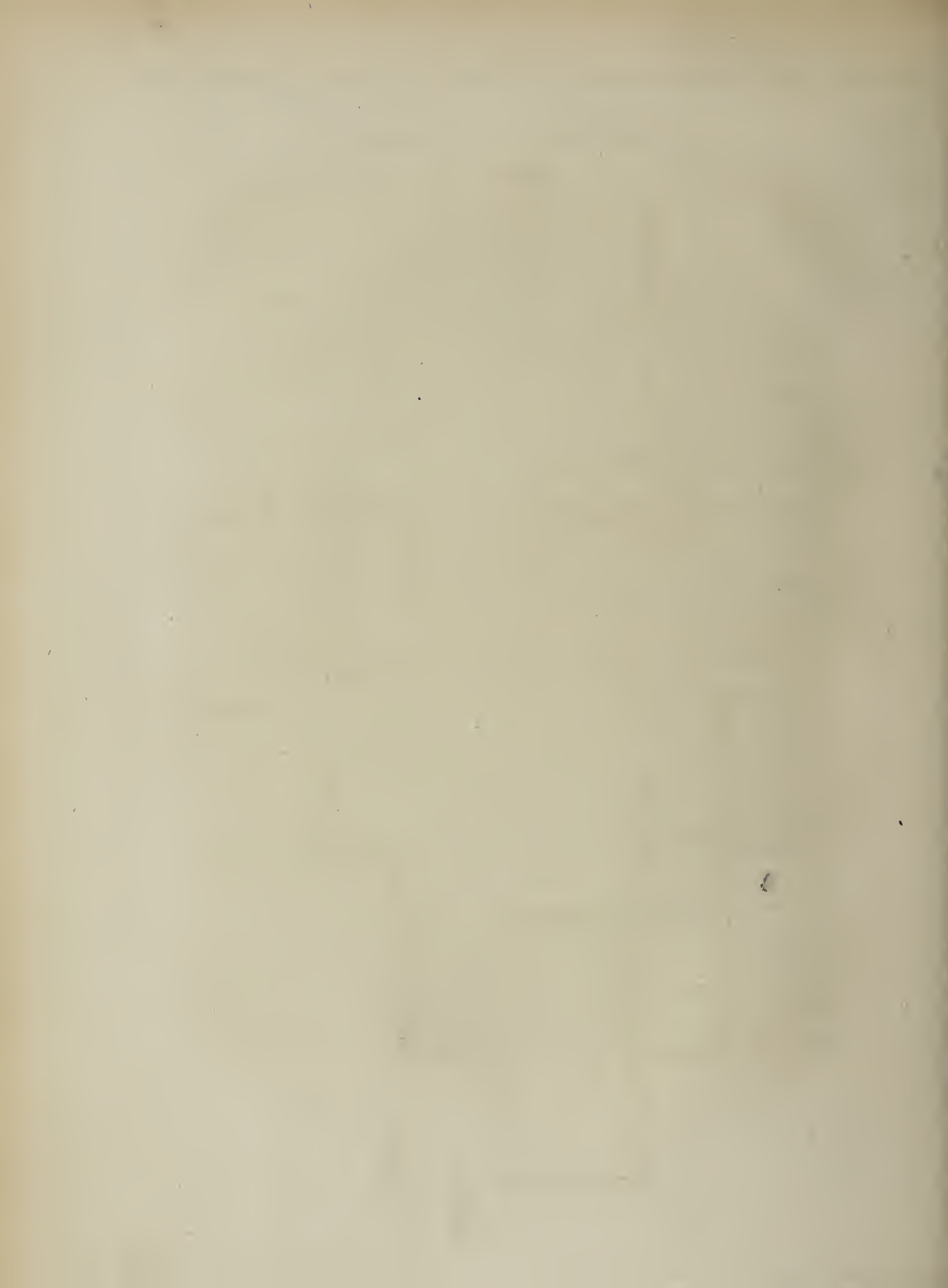
Having been invited by Mr. Brooke to assist at the investigation of these remains, I went to Withington in the month of October 1811; and by digging channels in various directions from the pavements already opened, and following the remains of walls and pavements discovered by those means, a considerable portion of the plan of the building was satisfactorily ascertained. Further discoveries were made by the same means in the following spring, including, as there is every reason to suppose, every thing of importance that remained of the building, which appeared to have been a considerable one, as will be seen by the annexed plan.<sup>b</sup> These remains lie at the distance of about a hundred and fifty yards from the river Coln, which is here an inconsiderable stream. The ground slopes gradually towards the river on the east side of the remains, and the soil being more shallow on that side, such foundations of the building as existed there, have in all probability been long since destroyed by the plough.

<sup>b</sup> Pl. vi.





Plan of the Remains of a Roman Villa, discovered at Withington in Gloucestershire.





The building appears to have been consumed by fire, as the remains of burnt timber and melted lead were found in several places, and part of the largest mosaic pavements was much discoloured by fire. The rooms marked A, B, C, D, E, F, G, and I, in the plan, had mosaic pavements, the greater part of which were composed of coarse tesserae, being cubes of an inch, but the designs were for the most part not inelegant. One of them, of considerable dimensions, being thirty-five feet in length and twenty in width, is entitled to particular notice on account of its execution and the subject of the design it is ornamented with. It was in the room marked D in the plan, and consisted of five compartments, two of which were found nearly entire; of the others, a small portion only remained of each. The principal one at the east end of the pavement contained the subject more frequently introduced than any other in works of this kind, being Orpheus in the centre, surrounded by various animals.<sup>c</sup> Three of these have been already discovered in England, at Woodchester in Gloucestershire, and at Horkstow and Winterton in Lincolnshire, but neither of them in which the animals were nearly so well drawn as in this at Withington; indeed, these appear to have been well designed, and as well executed as the nature of the materials of which they are composed would admit, being for the most part cubes of half an inch. These animals are eight in number, of which the leopard, boar, and wolf, were quite entire, and the bull and stag nearly so; the horse and lion were much mutilated, as was the figure of Orpheus in the centre. On each side of the circle containing these figures was a narrow oblong compartment, that on the south side was ornamented with a goblet in the centre, with the mutilated figure of a peacock, which most probably was answered by a similar one on the opposite side of the goblet. In the oblong compartment on the north side of the circle were figures of pheasants, and other birds. This division of the pavement was infinitely better executed than the one which joined it, and which was probably the work of a much later age. The part where this inferior work began was very visible, the fret which formed the outward

<sup>c</sup> See an outline of this subject, Pl. VII. fig. 1.

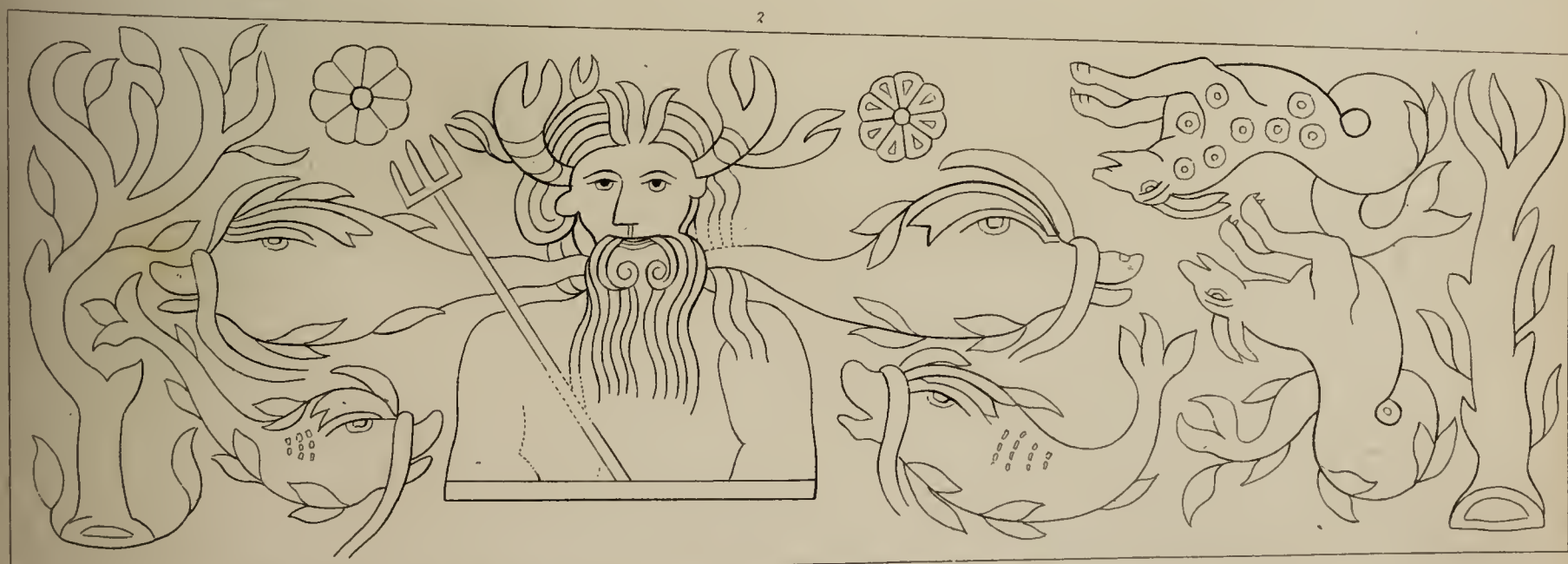
border of the large compartment being awkwardly cut off, with part of one of the birds, and a border formed of ornaments in a very inferior taste, having been substituted. This second compartment was an oblong, the sides of which were not parallel, containing various figures of dolphins and sea monsters, and a large head of Neptune represented with horns apparently formed of crabs or lobsters' claws, and two dolphins proceeding from his mouth,<sup>d</sup> as in a head of the same deity on a mosaic pavement which I discovered in the year 1797 near Frampton, in Dorsetshire, with an inscription in the mosaic work alluding to these dolphins.<sup>e</sup> The other three compartments were greatly mutilated, sufficient nevertheless remained to shew that the subject of one of them had been a figure on horseback in the act of hunting some wild beast, apparently a lion; another contained figures of fish, &c.; and the third consisted only of ornaments. It having been found impracticable to preserve this curious pavement in the place where it was discovered, many parts having been wantonly destroyed, although covered with a considerable quantity of earth, Mr. Brooke offered to the trustees of the British Museum any parts of it which might be deemed of sufficient importance to be removed. Which offer having been accepted, in the month of August 1811, all the figures of animals which were in a sufficient state of preservation, and the whole of the compartment containing the head of Neptune, were carefully taken up under the direction of Charles Rossi, Esq. R. A.; and the greater part of them have been since laid down on slabs of Portland stone, and deposited in the Museum.

The walls were for the most part one foot eight inches thick, and of different heights; in some places very little remained above the founda-

<sup>d</sup> See an outline of this compartment, Pl. VII. fig. 2.

<sup>e</sup> This figure serves to explain a Roman altar found at Cramond, in Scotland, and figured in Horsley's *Britannia Romana*; being N<sup>o</sup> xxviii of the Roman Inscriptions, &c. in Scotland. The head there figured had been generally taken for that of Jupiter Ammon; but Horsley (p. 204) inclines to think it was intended for Silvanus: on comparing it with these heads of Neptune, it is very obvious that it was designed for the same deity: the dolphins, which were perhaps somewhat defaced, had been taken for the feet of the goatskin round the neck.





*Figures on a Mosaic Pavement discovered at Withington in Gloucestershire.*





tions; in others, especially at the west end of the building, they were four feet high. They were all built of the stone of the country, and had been plastered on the inside, as appeared from several fragments of the plaster, painted with stripes of different colours, found among the rubbish.

The several pavements were on different levels: that marked A in the plan was four inches and a half higher than D, and nine and a half inches higher than E. The pavement B was four inches and a half above C, and D was the same height above E.

The eastern part of the building, marked H in the plan, contained considerable remains of a hypocaust; the piers, several of which remained to the height of two feet, were formed of bricks eight inches square, and one inch and a half thick, resting on larger ones of different sizes, some fourteen inches and a half square, others thirteen inches. The distances between the piers varied, they were on an average fourteen inches. The hypocaust was twenty-seven feet six inches in length, and nineteen feet in width; on the south side were two semicircular walls, within which were several funnels, similar to those which have been frequently found in the remains of hypocausts. A quantity of clay was rammed in, on the outside of the walls of the hypocaust on the south and east sides: on the west side, where appeared to have been the præfurnium, were great quantities of wood-ashes, with a knife, a small vessel of lead in the shape of a tea-cup, and several fragments of pottery.

#### *Discoveries at Gloucester.*

Since the discovery of Roman utensils and relics of various kinds, at a place called the Kingsholm, adjoining the city of Gloucester, on the north-west side; accounts of which are given in the seventh and eighth volumes of the *Archæologia*, many Roman remains, of various kinds, have been discovered at the same place, most of which have been deposited in the British Museum. Among

these were various weapons and tools of iron;<sup>f</sup> a bronze lamp of neat workmanship, having a crescent on the handle,<sup>g</sup> with part of the chain by which it was suspended; a small bell and two netting needles of bronze, and a kind of saucepan of the same metal, remarkably well preserved; this is executed with great neatness, especially the mouldings at the bottom, and is of a larger size than most of the vessels which have been found of the same sort, being six inches  $\frac{7}{8}$  in diameter at the top; several bronze handles, two of which appeared to have belonged to vases, the third, having a dog's head at the extremity, was no doubt the handle of a patera; a strigil, with a slit in the handle for the purpose of passing a ring through it, similar to several on a ring in the Townleyan Collection; rings of various sizes of bronze, and a great variety of fibulæ of the same metal; and fragments of pateræ of the Samian ware, one of them nine inches in diameter, stamped with "CARBONISMA" in the centre, another seven inches in diameter, stamped with "MASCVLVS. F."

At the Kingsholm has also been found another *Statera* or steelyard of bronze, the beam of which is about an inch longer than that of the one formerly found at the same place and exhibited to the Society in the year 1790, and is graduated as far as VII on the one side and XXX on the other. The weight was found with this, but so entangled with the hooks, that it could not be separated, so as to render any experiment practicable, in confirmation of the conjectures formerly offered to the Society, as to the graduation of the other *statera*; there appears, however, little reason to doubt the figures having been intended to express ounces.

Roman coins, both of the Higher and Lower Empire, chiefly of copper, of all sizes, have been found in great abundance in the gravel pits at the Kingsholm, but none that I have seen are entitled to particular notice, except those of the Emperor Claudius, of which a greater proportion have appeared than of any other emperor, and

<sup>f</sup> An adze and a large forceps, and other antiquities, found here in 1784, are now in Mr. Crossthwaite's museum at Keswick in Cumberland.

<sup>g</sup> It resembles one figured in Santi Bartoli's work on Ancient Lamps. Part II. pl. 35.



many of them so rudely executed, as to leave little room to doubt that they were the work of the soldiers in Britain. The greater part of them are imitations, as rude as can be imagined, of the coin of Claudius in middle brass; on the reverse of which is the figure of Minerva with shield and spear, inscribed with the letters s. c.<sup>h</sup>

What renders particularly interesting the circumstance of this abundance of the coins of Claudius and the rude imitations of them being discovered near the city of Gloucester, is the connexion which several of our early historians have recorded between that emperor and the Roman colony of *Glevum*; for though it affords no evidence of his having built the city on the marriage of his daughter to the British king Arviragus, as the monkish writers pretend; yet it certainly adds great weight to what Richard of Cirencester asserts, that the seventh legion, which bore the name of Claudius, was quartered here; and the city, no doubt, was denominated from it *Claudiocestria*, as it is called by some of our historians. It is true this legion is not mentioned by any Roman historian as having been in Britain, nor in any inscription hitherto discovered; and the names of only three legions that were here in the time of the Emperor Claudius are known; yet we learn from the testimony of Josephus, that there were four under Vespasian in the reign of Nero, and the assertion of Richard of Cirencester, added to the discovery at Gloucester above-mentioned, give us every reason to believe that fourth to have been the Claudian.

Though no doubt was ever entertained that the present city of Gloucester was built on the site of the Roman *Glevum*, or *Claudiocestria*, yet no traces of any Roman edifice are recorded to have been discovered before the summer of the year 1796, when part of a large mosaic pavement, 19 feet by 11, was found several feet below the level of the street, on digging the foundation for rebuilding the charity-school in Eastgate-street. I never saw the whole of this pavement, as it was broken up and dispersed shortly after its discovery; but as far as one could judge from numerous fragments, dis-

<sup>h</sup> See Pl. viii. fig. 2. 3.

persed in different hands, it appeared to be of inferior workmanship, and to have consisted of a blue and white chequered pattern with some small compartments, bordered by braided guilloches, containing figures of sea monsters; the tesserae of which were cubes of about half an inch. Though its merit as a work of art was certainly not such as to render this pavement valuable or particularly interesting, yet it is much to be regretted, that this only relic known to have been discovered, of one of the earliest and most considerable of the Roman cities in Britain, had not been preserved; more especially as it was so conveniently situated for the purpose of preservation in the cellar of a public building.

*Discoveries at Cirencester.*

In the year 1808, on some pasture ground belonging to Thomas Master, Esq. F. A. S. being broken up for garden ground, adjoining the Leweses garden, where so many Roman antiquities have been formerly found, a mosaic pavement was discovered 18 feet 6 inches by 20 feet; in the general style of its ornaments much resembling the Bignor pavement, in the centre of which is the head of Minerva: and near it were some very large stones, and other remains of a considerable edifice; among which was the upper part of a Corinthian capital of stone four feet in diameter,<sup>1</sup> in a very good style; and a stone, with the remains of some elegant ornaments, consisting of a single fret, a guilloche, and a border of oak leaves, carved in bas-relief. These, no doubt, belonged to the same building as the architectural remains discovered in the same place about a century ago, and described by Dr. Stukeley, in his fourth Iter; whose account, but for the present discoveries there, one should have been inclined to suspect of having received a little high colouring from the Doctor's well-known enthusiasm in matters of antiquity. "Here (he says) are found many mosaic pavements, rings, intaglias, and coins innumerable, especially in one great garden called Lewis grounds. I suppose it was the præto-

<sup>1</sup> See Pl. viii. fig. 1.





1. Fragment of a Corinthian Capital found at Cirencester.

2. 3. Coins found at the Kingsholm near Gloucester.





rium. Large quantities of carved stones are carried off yearly in carts to mend the highways, besides what are useful in building.”—“In the same place they found several stones of the shafts of pillars six feet long, and bases of stone (as the tenant expressed himself) near as big in compass as his summer-house adjoining; these, with cornices very handsomely moulded, and carved with modillions and the like ornaments, were converted into swine-troughs. Some of the stones of the bases were fastened together with cramps of iron, so that they were forced to employ horses to draw them asunder, and they now lie before the door of his house as a pavement. Capitals of these pillars were likewise found.” Stukeley’s *Itinerary*, p. 62, 63, edit. 1724.

Richard of Cirencester includes this town, the *Corinium* of the Romans, among the thirty-three of their principal cities, and says that it was founded by Vespasian. It is certainly very probable that it should have become a Roman city about the time that Vespasian commanded the Roman forces in this island under the Emperor Claudius; when the southern and western parts of this island were completely reduced by him.

XVI. *Extracts from the Proceedings of Privy Council, from the Year 1545 to the Year 1558. Communicated by HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary, in a Letter addressed to SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. V. P. F. R. S.*

Read 22d Dec. 1814, 26th Jan. 2d, 9th, 16th, and 23d Feb. 1815.

British Museum,  
December 21, 1814.

DEAR SIR,

AMONG the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum are three Volumes which purport to contain Copies of the Council Books from the month of May 1545, the 37th year of King Henry the Eighth, to 1558, the first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.<sup>a</sup> From an entry at the end of the second volume it appears that they were extracted, or rather abridged, by Ra. Starkey, about the year 1620.

The contents of these volumes are, of course, various in point of subject; numerous entries in each relate to trade, arrangements in the out-ports of the kingdom, preparations for the defence of block-houses and fortresses, passports, dispatches, and even matters of police, with very numerous entries, more especially in the reigns of Edward the Sixth and Queen Mary, illustrative of the state of religion.

I have selected from them some detached entries, which, in the dearth of more important communications, may have their interest with the Society of Antiquaries.

I am, dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

HENRY ELLIS.

TO SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. V. P.

<sup>a</sup> MSS. Harl. Num. 256, 352, 643.



THE first Volume, Num. 256, is entitled "A Booke of the Actes of Counsele made and entered by the Clarke of the Counsell at the Counsele Table begininge the x. of Maye in the xxxvij yeare of our soveraigne Lorde King Henry the viij. An<sup>o</sup> 1545." It finishes with the Council held at Westminster Jan<sup>y</sup> 26<sup>th</sup>, 1546-7.

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In the Council at Windsor, June 24<sup>th</sup>, 1545.

"A Letter to my Lord of Canterbury wherein was declared the Kinges Highnes pleasure touchinge the settinge upp againe of an Image that had bene plucked doune by his Majesties Injunction; and touchinge also the abolleshing of a certayne makinge of holye water used about S<sup>t</sup>. Johns tide, and concerninge also the takinge downe of an Image called our Ladie of Pitye in the Pewe in consideration of Idolotrye done unto the same by the common people." (fol. 83.)

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At Hampton Court, Jan<sup>y</sup>. 21, 1545-6.

"A Passeporte was signed for the Egiptiones to pase with their Bagge and Baggage and other necessities belonging to them undere the conducte of Phillipe Lazer their governor withoute impedimente, &c. beinge appointed at Londone accordinge to my Lorde Admyralles ordere thaken therin to embarke at Londone." (fol. 129 b.)

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At Westminster, Jan. 30<sup>th</sup>, 1545-6.

"Comyssione was given to Sir Thomas Moyle and Sir Thomas Pope to make serch and inquisitione after suche persons as of late had brokene in the night season into the Church of Westeminstre and robbed awaye the Image of Kinge Henrie of Monmouth beinge all of siluer plates." (fol. 135 b.)

From Greenwich, May 2<sup>d</sup>, 1546.

“ A Letter ” was sent “ to my Lorde of Norfolke signefyinge to his Lordshippe that the kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup>. had bene advertized of the effecte of his laste lettres, and yelded him harty thanks for those his proceedinges; and that his servante sente uppe by him was for his demerits committed to the Towere to be ordered accordynge to Justyce: and where the Lorde Thomas Howarde his sonne was presently sente for to repaire hether, the Counsell thinkeinge good to pertycypate the Cause therof unto him, signefyed that for as much as he amonge other yonge gentlemen of the Courte had used himselfe in disputation of Scripture matters more largely and indiscreetely then good ordere did permyte, The Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup>. mindeth he should be called before them to make Answer to the same, for his Admonycion therein and reconcillemente yf he had the grace so to accepte this his Ma<sup>ties</sup>. clemencye herein extended upon him accordingly.”

“ A Letter ” also was sent “ to the Lord Thomas Howarde to make his repaire hether, all excuses laid aparte to answer before the Counsell to such things as should be objected to him.”

“ This Daye was M<sup>r</sup>. Devoroux, the Lord Ferrares sonne, examyned before the Counsell touchinge wordes by him spokene in matters of Religion, of creepinge to the Crosse, Holly Watere, &c. and namly of a newe soarte of Confiteors, and was comaunded to give his Attendance when he should be called.” (fol. 193.)

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At Greenwich, May 7<sup>th</sup>, 1546.

“ This Daye the Lord Thomas Howarde presented him selfe before the Lords of the Counsell according to the Letter in that behalfe addressed unto him, wherupon the Lords declared unto him the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup>. clemency towards him extended in willinge them to admonyshe him of his undiscrete medlyng in Scripture thinges and that yf he did frankely confesse what wordes he hath uttered as well



in disproof of the Sermon this last Lente preached in the Courte, as also his other talke at large in the Queenes Chamber and other places of the Courte, as also his other talke at large concernynge Scripture, his Highnes would be gracious Lord unto him, and forasmuch as the said Lord partly acknouleged his faulte did not yet confesse the pertyculers which the Counsell would have had him confes of himselfe he was for that tyme dismiss to take a better pause in the matter, and to consider and remember better what wordes had escaped him, &c."

On the next day, "The Lord Thomas Howarde and Sir Edward Warner beinge admonyshed by the Counsell to reforme their indiscrete proceedinges touchinge take of Scripture matteres were upon their submyssyon and promise of reformation dismissed." (fol. 198, 199.)

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At Greenwiche, May 19<sup>th</sup>, 1546.

"This Daye Sir Richard Blowestocke the parishe preeste of Tenterden was examened before the Counsell and for his asseveracion before them that in hallowinge of Holly Breadd and Holly Watere there was Heresy he was comitted to warde to be further at more leasure examyned." (fol. 205 b.)

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At Greenwiche, June 19<sup>th</sup>, 1546.

"Thomas Keyme of Lincolneshire, who had married one Anne Ascue, called hether, and likewise his wiffe who refused him to be her hosbande withoute any honeste allegacion, was appointed to returne to his Countrey tyll he shoulde be eftesoones sent for, and for that shee was very obstynate and headdy in reasonyng of matters of Relygeone, wherein she shewed herselfe to be of a naughty oppinion seeinge no perswasione of good reason could take place she was sente to Newegate to remaine there to answeere to the Lawe; like as

also one White who attempted to make an erronyous Booke was sente to Newgate after debatyng with him of the matter, who shewed himselfe of a wronge oppinyone concernynge the blessed Sacramente." (fol. 224.)

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At Westminster, July 10<sup>th</sup>, 1546.

" Sir John Olde, preeste, chaplene to the Lord Ferrares, being caled hether and accused to have bene a man of a light disposityon concerninge Matteres of Relygeon, confessed his faulte and shewed himselfe to have bene long repentante for the same, and professynge him selfe unfaynedly to receave the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup> doctrine and to behave him selfe herafter honestly, was with a good lesson dismissed." (fol. 236 b.)

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*Extracts from the Harleian Manuscript, Num. 352.*

1546.

19 March.

" A Warrant to S<sup>r</sup>. Edmond Peckham, to deliver to the King's Ordinary footemen £xvi for their fees of olde tyme accustomed which they clayme for the Canapie borne the daye that his Highnes rodd from the Towere of London to Westminster nexte before his Coronation." (fol. 12.)

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1546.

21 of March.

" A Letter to the Earle of Surreys widow, whereas the Kings Ma<sup>tie</sup>. decessed was desirous to have had the Chase and Manor of Risinge, the Lordshipe of Gawode, and mannor of Thorpe, parcell of the Lands that pertayned to the late Duke of Norfolke attayncted, which she had comprised in her Joynture, to be anexed to others his



Highnes lands in that Country which laye very commodiously to be adjoyned to such other lands as the Kings Ma<sup>tie</sup> hath in those parts. The Lords here eftsoones desired her to surrender her tytle therof into his Highnes hands, and sending hether some of the counsell instructed of her minde herein, and what landes of his Ma<sup>ty</sup> she would in any place choose in recompence therof, they would cause suffytient assurance without any losse or hinderance to be made unto her of the same accordinge to the estate which she had in the others; and also to shewe her favore in her other suits to his Highnes as should appertayne." (fol. 12.)

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1547.

7. Aprill.

" Letteres were addressed to Sir George Harper signefyinge the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup> contentacion that the Lady Anne of Cleves should have the use of House, Deare, and Wood in the Parke of Penshurst, in forme as she now hathe Blechingleghe. And to her Letters were addressed of the Tenore ensuinge. Madame, after due commendations, whereas among other things declared here on your behalfe by Sir John Gulford knight, your graces chamberlayne, the same hath required an estate to be made unto you of the use of the Kings Majesties house at Penshurst, the game, and wood, within the Parke, in like manore and forme as ye have presently at Blechingleghe, like as we consider that comoditie of the same house of Peneshurste shalbe meete for your purpose in respecte of the neerenes of the same to Heyvores, and that forbearinge nowe the Comoditie of the house, game, and woods at Blechingley affores<sup>d</sup> the rest of yo<sup>r</sup> renews ther shall stande you in no other steed and pleasure but for the certaine rent of the same, we have thought good in respecte of the determination which we knowe to have bene in the Kings Majestie our late Soveraigne Lorde deceased to plante Sir Thomas Cawarden Knight, gentleman of his Highness Privie Chamber, in those partes

when your Grace should receave other recompence, By these to require your Grace to be contented to make surrender unto him of all your Tytle and Intereste at Blechingley for the Mannor and the appurtenances, paying the yearly rente of xxxiiij<sup>l</sup>. xv<sup>s</sup>. and ij<sup>d</sup>. sterlinge, with such assurance to be made nnto him of the same as by the learned counsell of your Grace and him shalbe thoughte convenyente, wherein your Grace shall for the tyme have such a tenante as will see your revenewe assuredly and honestly answered, and besides satysfie the determinacyon of our said late Soveraigne Lord towards him, which we doubte not your Grace will please to tender the rather upon this our information of the same. And for depech of your Graces Affaires here, as well for Penshurst as the reste, we have fully resolved therein with the said Sir John Guldeforde to whom we refere the full declaration of the same as wee shalbe glad to extend our good willes to the Advancement of such thinges as shall from tyme to tyme be required on your behalfe wherein convenyently we may gratefye your Grace. Thus, &c." (fol. 22.)

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1547.

13 Junij.

"Mr. Man beinge appointed to accompany certayne Scottish gentlemen to the Borderes of Scotland had a Plackard for thre Post Horses with a guide, painge for every horse one peny the mile, the same to be aswell for his ridinge thether as for his retorne againe." (fol. 44 b.)

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1547.

12. November.

"For asmuch as the misorderes by the servinge men and other yonge and light persones and apprentices of London, towards Preestes and those that goe in Scollores gownes like prestes, hath of late bothe



in Westeminster Hall and in other places of the Cittie of London ben so greate that not onely it hath offended many men, but also have geven greate occasion yf on the parties of the said prestes more wisdom and discredysshon had not been shewed, then of the other of sedicion and murder, or, at the least, of such other inconvenyences as are not to be suffered in a Common Welthe as to the Kinge's Highnes and his moste entyrelly beloved Uncle the Duke of Somersette governor of his moste Royall person and protector of all his Realmes Dominions and Subjectes and the reste of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Counsell hath ben crediblie and certenlie reported and shewed; for reformation wherof, the Kinges highnes by the Advise of his said moste deare Uncle and other his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Counsell willeth and straitelie commandeth that no servinge man nor apprentice, or any other person what soever he or they be, shall use hereafter such insolencie and evell demenore towards Preestes as revelling, tossing of them, takinge violently their cappes, and typpets from them without juste tytle or cause, nor otherwise to use them then as becometh the Kinges moste lovinge subjects. owe to doe toward an other, upon paine that who soever shall doe the contrarie, and be upon the same taken with the manner, or yf he shall appeare upon complainte made by suffityente tryall of witnes or otherwise before the Kings highnes Counsell, or the Maiore, Sheriffes, or other suffitiente judges to whom the Complainte shalbe made, the person therof to be guiltie, that then such Offendor or Offendors according to the qualletie of the facte for the tyme and place when it was committed to suffer paine of imprisonmente, or other corporal paine, to the example of all otheres, as to the discretion of the said Lord Protector, the King's Ma<sup>ties</sup> Counsell, or of the Judges before whom the same is proved, seeme conveniente, which shalbe such that by the punishmente of a fewe all otheres may be affraide to use such insolencie, violence, and ill demeanor againste any of the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup> subjects." (fol. 55 b.)

1547.

16 January.

A Letter "To the Deane and Prebendaries of Canterbury to deliver the Silver Table that stode upon their high Aulter, by indenture contayninge the weight of the same, to Sir Anthony Aucher." (fol. 68 b.)

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1547.

29 January.

A Letter "To Mr. Aucher to receave of the Chapter of Christe Church in Canterbury all suche Juelles and Plate of gould and Silver as they have by our late soveraigne Lordes permission in their possession to their Churches use, and forthwith to deliver the same by Bill endented to the Offycers of the Minte, there expressynge the severall poyz and valewe of the same same therein." (fol. 70 b.)

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At Westminster the 28<sup>th</sup> Daye of March

1548.

"To the Maior of Plimoth and his Bretheren, merveling of their unwillingenes to proceede in the fortifyinge of S<sup>t</sup>. Michaelles Chappelle to be made a Bulwarke, namely when the suretie of so small a thinge might assure them againste all attemptes, and wher they alledge the pluckinge downe of that Chappelle harde to the foundation, they were answered the same beinge made upp againe with a wall of Turfe should neither be of less efecte or strengthe, (for a meane strengthe for such a place sufficed) nor yet of such greate coste as they intended, and as for the nombere of men which they speake of, the Counsell knew that gunners with besides should be as good as a hundred, and therefore eftesones the Lordes desired



them like good subjectes according to their former letteres (all excuses set aparte) to goe in hande with that worke accordinglie as they might therby be esteemed that they tender the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup> pleasure and their owne sureties and defence cheifeste." (fol. 76.)

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At Greenwich the xj. Day of May

An<sup>o</sup> 1550.

"The Counsell were enformed that earneste suit had bene made to the Maiore of London by divers Noblemen and Gentlemen to spare the opene punishmente of a certaine Phesityane caled Doctor Arnaud esteemed to be a Jue, who for his naughtie livinge and develishe practises was judged to ride thoroughe the streetes in a Carte, and because upon the rehersall of his detestable doinges that punishment seemed to the Counsell too small, order was taken that he shuld not only ride in the Carte according to the Maiores judgement but also immediately be banished the Realme." (fol. 93.)

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At Greenwich the viij of Junij an<sup>o</sup> 1550.

"Cōsiderynge the longe imprisonment that the Bishope of Winchester hath sustayned, it was now thought time he should be spokene withall, and agreed that yf he repented his former obstynacye, and would henceforth apply himselfe to advaunce the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup> proceedinges, his Highnes in this Case would be his good lorde and remitt all his errores passed: otherwise his Ma<sup>tie</sup> was resolved to proceede againste him, as his Obstynacy and Contempte required: for the declaration whereof the Duke of Somerset, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privie Seale, the Lord Greate Chamberlene, and Mr. Secretary Peeter were appointed the nexte Day to repaire unto him." (fol. 99.)

At Grenwich the x. day of June an<sup>o</sup> 1550.

“ Reporte was made by the Duke of Somersete and the reste sente to the Bishope of Winchester that he desired to see the Kinges Booke of Proceedings, upon the sight wherof he would make a full Answere; seeminge to be willinge in all thinges to conforme himselfe thereunto, and promisinge that in case any thinge offended his conscience he would open it to non but to the Counsell: whereupon it was agreed the Booke should be sente him to se his Aunswere that his Case might be agreed upon, and that for the meane time he should have the libertie of the Gallerye and Garden in the Towere, when the Duke of Norfolke were absente.” (fol. 99 b.)

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At Grenewich the xiiij Day of Junij an<sup>o</sup>. 1550.

“ This Daye the Lievetenante of the Towere, who before was appointed to delivere the Kings Booke unto the Bishope of Winchester, declared unto the Counsell that the Bishope havinge perused it, said unto him, he could make no directe answere unlese he were at libertie, and so beinge, he would saye his Conscyence, whereupon the Lordes and other that had bene with him the other daye were appointed to goe to him againe to receave a directe Answere that the Counsell therupon mighte determin further order for him.” (fol. 100.)

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At Westminster the xxix Day of Junij an<sup>o</sup>. 1550.

“ A warrante to                      to paye unto the ladye Anne of Cleves £cccc. given her by the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup>. towards the paymente of her debtes at the suite of the Duke of Cleves.” (fol. 103 b.)



At Westminster the v<sup>th</sup>. Day of Julij 1550.

“ It was declared that the Archebishoppe of Glasco and of Catnes beinge brother to the Earle of Huntleye Scoteshman was come out of Fraunce without pasporte, and would have taken poste horses to have ridden straight hense into Scotlande, whereupon it was debated whether he were prisonor or not: and, the Treaties beinge examined, it appeared plainlie that he rested good prisoner, both by the Treaties and by the Lawes of this Realme; wherefore Sir Thomas Palmer was comaunded to keepe him in curtiose warde for iiij. or v. dayes till the Counseles further ordere shoulde be knowne. (fol. 104.)

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At Westminster the viii Day of July 1550.

“ For asmuch as the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup>. continuall chardges in Irelande did drawe the Coyne of this Realme awaye, consideringe moreovere that, without erectinge a Minte there, those Charges might ill be borne. It was not only agreed that the Minte should be sett upp againe, but also that it should be lett out to farme for xij Monthes at these Conditions followinge.

1. Firste that the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup>. should be at no manner of Charges great nor small.

2. Item that the Kinges highnes shall haue xij s. iiij<sup>d</sup>. cleare of every pound weight that shall be coyned.

3. Item that they shall coyne no manner of Bolleyne, either of this Realme or of Ireland, but to provide it in other countries.

4. Item that they shall aduaunce at the leaste by this meane the some of xxiiij<sup>M</sup>. poundes to the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup>. within thes xij monthes.

5. That the Kinge shall appointe a M<sup>r</sup>. of the Saies and a Comptroller to be paide at the Farmores charges.

“ This daye the Bishoppe of Winchesteres Case was renewed upon the Reporte of the Lordes that had bene with him that his Answeres

were ever doubtfull, refusinge whill he were in prison to make any directe Answer; wherefor it was determined that he should be directlie examined whether he would sincerely conforme himselfe unto the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup>. procedinges or no: for w<sup>ch</sup> purpose it was agreede that particuler Artycles should be drawne, to see whether he would subscribe them or not, and a lettere also directed unto him from the Kinges highnes with which the Lord Treasurer, the Lorde greate M<sup>r</sup>, the M<sup>r</sup> of the Horse, and M<sup>r</sup>. Secretary Peeters, should repaire unto him, the tenor of which letter ensueth.

“ By the King.

“ It is not (we thinke) unknowne unto you with what clemencye and fauore we by the Advice of our Counsell caused you to be heard and used upon those sundrie Complaintes and Informacones that were made to us and our said Counsell of your disordered doinges and words, both at the tyme of our late Visetacon and otherwise; w<sup>ch</sup> not w<sup>th</sup>standinge, consideringe that the fauore both then and many other tymes minestred unto you wrought rather an insolente wilfulness in yourselfe then any obedient conformetie such as would have beseemed a man of vocacon, we could not but use some demonstration of Justyce towards you, as well for such notorious and apparante contemptes and other inobediences as after and contrarie to our Comaundemente were openly knowne in you; as also for some example and terror of such otheres as by your example seemed to take courage to mutter and grudge againste our moste godlie proceedinges, whereof greate disordere and inconvenyence (at that time) might have ensued, for the advoydinge whereof and for your juste deservynges you were by our said Counsell committed to warde, wher albeit we have suffered you to remaine a longe space, sendinge unto you the meane time at sundrye tymes diueres of the noble men and others of our privie counsell, and travellinge by them with clemency and favore to have reduced you to the knowledge of your dutie, yet in all this tyme have you neither knowledged your faulte nor made any such submissyon as might have beseemed you, nor yet



shewed any apparance either of Repentance or of any good Confor-  
metie to our godly proceedings, wherewith albeit we both have good  
cause to be offended, and might also justely by the Order of our  
Lawes, cause your former doinges to be reformed and puneshed to  
the example of otheres. Yet for that we would both the world and  
yourselfe also should knowe, that we delite more in clemencie than  
in the streight administration of Justice, we have vouchsafed not  
only to addresse unto you these our Lettres but also to sende este-  
sones unto you foure of our privie Counsell, with certayne Articles,  
whiche, beinge by us with the advise of our said Counsell considered,  
we thinke requisite for sundrie Consideracions to be subscribed by  
you, and therefor will and commaunde to subscribe the saide Articles  
upon paine of encurringe such punishmentes and penalties as by our  
Lawes maye be putt upon youe for not doinge the same. Given  
at our Pallas at Westminstere the viij. daye of July in the fowerth  
yeare of our Reigne.

And subscribed by

E: Somerset. W: Wiltesheir. J: Warwiche. J: Bedford. W:  
Northampton. E: Clinton. G: Cobham. William: Paget. A:  
Wingefeild. W: Harbert. William Peeter. Edward North." (fol.  
104, b. 105, 106.)

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At Westminster the x. day of July an<sup>o</sup> 1550.

"This Daye the Lord Treasurer, Lord greate M<sup>r</sup>., the M<sup>r</sup>. of the  
Horse, and M<sup>r</sup> Secretary Peeter, made. Reporte unto the Counsell  
that they had not only delivered unto the Bishoppe of Winchestere  
the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup>. letter, but also the Articles appointed; unto all  
which Articles he subscribed with his owne hande, saving to the  
firste, whereunto he wrotte his Answere in the margent as hereafter  
appeareth.

“ The Coppie of the Articles.

“ Whereas I Steevene Bishope of Winchester have bene suspected as one too much favoringe the Bishope of Romes Authoritie, Decrees, and Ordinances, and as one that did not approve or allowe the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup>. proceedinges\* in alteracon of certaine Rites in Religion, and was convented before the Kinges Highnes Counsell and admonyshed thereof, and havinge certaine things appointed for me to doe and preach for my Declaracon have not done that as I ought to doe, althoughe I promysed to doe the same, wherby I have not onlie incurred the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup>. indignacōn, but also diveres of his Highnes subjectes have by mine example taken encouragemente (as his graces Counsell is certainly enformed) to repine at his Ma<sup>ties</sup>. moste godly proceedinges. I am right sorie therefore and acknowledge myselfe condingly to have been punyshed, and doe moste hartely thanke his Ma<sup>ties</sup>. that of his greate clemencye it hath pleased his Highnes to deale with me not accordinge to rigoure but mercy. And to the intente it may appeere to the world how litle I doe repine at his Hignes doinges, w<sup>ch</sup> he in Religion moste godly and to the Commonwealth moste prudente, I affirme and saye freely on myne owne will without any compulsion as ensueth.

1. Firste that by the Lawe of God and the Authoritie of Scripture the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup> and his successores are the supreme heades of the Churches of England and also of Ireland.

2. Item that the appointinge of Hollidayes or fastynge Dayes, as Lente, Imber dayes, or any such like, or to dispence therewith is in the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup>. Authoritie and Powere; and his Highnes as suprem Heade of the saide Church of England and Irelande, and Governor thereof may appointe the manner and tyme of the Holidayes, and fastynge, or dispence therewith as to his wisdom shall seeme moste conveniente for the honor of God and the welth of this Realme.

\* The Bishoppes Answer to this Article. ‘ I cannot in my conscience confesse the preface, knowinge myselfe to be of that sorte I am in deede and ever have beene.’



3. That the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup>. hath moste christyanly and godlie sett forth by and with the Consente of the whole Parleamente, a devoute and christian Booke of Service of the Church to be frequented in the Church, w<sup>ch</sup> booke is to be accepted and allowede of all Bishoppes, Pastores, Curats, and all Ministeres ecclesiastycall of the Realme of Englande, and so of them to be declared and commended in all places where they shall fortune to preach or speake to the people of it, that it is a godlie and christyane Booke and Ordere and to be allowed accepted and observed of all the Kinges Ma<sup>ty</sup> true subjects.

4. I acknowledge the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup>. that now is, whose Life god longe preserve, to be my Soueragne and Lorde and supreme Head under Christe to mee as a Bishoppe of this Realme and naturall Subjecte to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>; and now in this his yonge and tender age to be my full and entire Kinge, and that I and all other his highnes Subjectes are bound to obay all his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Proclamacones, Statutes, Lawes, and Commaundementes, made, promulgate, and sett forth in this his highnes yonge age aswell as though his Highnes were at this presente xxx. or xl. yeares olde.

5. Item I confesse and acknowledge that the Statute commonly called the Statute of sixe Articles for juste causes and groundes is by the Authōritie of Parleamente repealed and disannulled.

6. Item that his Majestie and his Successores have Authoritie in the said Churches of England, and also of Ireland, to alter, reforme, correcte, and amende all errores and abuses, and all rites and ceremonies ecclesiastycall, as shall seeme from tyme to tyme to his Highnes and his Successores moste convenyente for the edeficacōn of his people, so that the same alteracōn be not contrarie or repugnante to the Scripture or the Lawe of God.

Subscribed on this wyse

STE: WINTON.

Whercunto the Counsell also subscribed their handes.

E : Somerset. W : Wiltshier. J. Warwick. J. Bedford. W : Northtō. E : Clinton. G : Cobham. William Paget. W : Herbert. William Pecter. Edward North." (fol. 106, 107, 108.)

At Westminster the xi. of July a°. 1550.

“ This Daye the Bishope of Winchester’s Case was debated, and because it appeareth that he sticketh upon the submission which is the princepalleste pointe, consideringe his offences that he now goeth about to defende, to the intente he should have no just cause to saye that he was not mercifully handled, it was agreed that the M<sup>r</sup> of the Horse and M<sup>r</sup> Secretarye Peeter should repaire unto him againe w<sup>th</sup> the same Submisson, exorting him to looke better upon it, and in case the words seem too sore, then to referre it unto himselfe in what soarte and with what words he shoulde devise to submitt him, that upon the acknowleging of his faulte the Kings Hignes might extend his Mercie and Liberalletie towards him as it was determined.” (fol. 108.)

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At Westminster the xiiij day of July an°. 1550.

“ The M<sup>r</sup> of the Horse and M<sup>r</sup> Secretary Peeter made Reporte that they had bene with the Bishope of Winchester who stood precisly in justefienge of himselfe that he had never offended the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup>: wherefore he utterly refused to make any submyssion at all. For the more suretie of which deniall it was agreed that a newe booke of Artycles should be devised: where with the said M<sup>r</sup>. of the Horse and M<sup>r</sup>. Secretarye should repaire unto him againe, and for the more autentyque proceedinge with him they to have with them a devine and a temperall Lawier, which were the Bishope of Londone and M<sup>r</sup>. Goodericke.” (fol. 1096.)

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At Westminster the xv. day of July an°. 1550.

“ Reporte was made by the M<sup>r</sup>. of the Horse and M<sup>r</sup>. Secretary Peeter that they with the Bishope of Londone and Mr. Godricke had bene with the Bishope of Winchester and offered him the foresaid Articles accordinge to the Counseles order: whereunto the same



Bishoppe of Winchester made answere that firste to the article of submyssione he would in no wise consente. Affirminge as he had done before that he had never offended the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup> in any such soarte as should give him cause thus to submitte himselfe, praienge earnestely to be brought to his Triall, wherin he refused the Kinges mercye and desired nothing but justyce. And for the reste of the articles he aunswered that after he were paste his triall in this firste pointe and were at libertie, then it should appere what hee would doe in them, not beinge (as he said) reasonable he should subscribe them in prison. Whereupon it was agreed he should be sent for before the whole Counsell and peremptorely examined ovre againe whether he would stand at this pointe or noe; which yf he did, then to denounce unto him the sequestracon of his Benefice, and consequentelye the intimacōn in case he were not reformed within three monthes, as in the daye of apparance shall appeare." (fol. 113.)

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At Westminster the xix. Day of July an<sup>o</sup> 1550.

"This Daye the Counsell had accesse unto the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup> for divers Causes, but specially for the Bishoppe of Winchesters matter who this Daye was therefore appointed to be before the Counsell and there havinge declared unto his Highnes the circomstance of their proceedings with the Bishoppe, His Ma<sup>tie</sup>. comaunded that yf he would this daye also stand to his wonted obstenacie, the counsell should then proceede to the imediate sequestracōn of his Bishopricke and consequentely to the intimacōn. Upon this the Bishoppe of Winchester was brought before the Counsell, and there the Articles before mencōned redde unto him, distinctelie, with good deliberacōn: whereunto he refused either to subscribe or consente, and thereupon was bothe the sequestracōn and intimacōn redd unto him in form following.

' Where the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup>. our moste gratio<sup>us</sup> soueraine lorde hath at divers tymes sente sundrie of us to travill with you to the intende

you acknowleginge your bounden dutie, should as a good and obedi-  
 diente subjecte have conformed yourselfe to that Uneformitie in  
 Matters of Religion, which is alredie openlie sett forth both by Actes  
 of Parliamente and otherwise by his Ma<sup>ties</sup>. authoritie, and hath also  
 of late by certaine of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Counsell sente unto you certaine Ar-  
 ticles w<sup>th</sup> expresse comaundemente that you should affirme them with  
 subscription of your hand, and also declare and professe yourselfe  
 well contented, willinge, and ready to publish and preace the same  
 to otheres at such tyme and place, and before such Audience as to his  
 Ma<sup>tie</sup> should from tyme to tyme beseeme requisite: because you did  
 at that time expreslye refuse to doe as you were comaunded to the  
 greate contempte of his Highnes moste dreade comaundemente, and  
 dangerouse example of otheres, wee having especiaall Commissyon  
 from his Ma<sup>tie</sup>. to here and determin your manyfold Contemptes and  
 Disobediences do eftsones aske and demaund of you whether you  
 will obaye and doe his Ma<sup>ties</sup> said Comaundement or not.'

Wherunto he answered that in all things that his Ma<sup>tie</sup>. would law-  
 fully comaund him he was willinge and moste redie to obaye, but for  
 asmuch as ther were diverse thinges required of him that his Con-  
 science would not beare, therefore he praied them to have him exeu-  
 sed. And herupon M<sup>r</sup>. Secretary Peeter by the Counseles order  
 proceeded with these wordes.

'For asmuch as the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup>. our moste gracious soveraigne  
 Lord understandeth and it is also manifestly knowne, and notorious  
 unto us that the Clemency and long Sufferance of his Majestie work-  
 eth not in you that good effecte of humblenes and conformetie that  
 is requisite in a good subjecte, and for that your firste disobedience,  
 contemptes, and other misbehaviours for the which you were by his  
 Ma<sup>ties</sup> authoritie justly committed to warde, having since your said  
 Committinge dailie more and more increased in you in such sorte as  
 a greate slaunder and offence is thereof risene in many partes of the  
 Realme, whereby much slaunder, dissencōn, trouble, and unquietenes  
 hath risen, and more is very like to ensue yf your foresaid offences  
 beinge as they be openly knowne, should passe unpunished, we lett



you witte that havinge speciall and expresse comissyon and commaundemente from his Ma<sup>tie</sup>. aswell for your sayd Contumacyes and Contemptes of longe contynued, and yet daylie more increasinge, as also for the exchuinge of the slaunder and offence of the people which by your said ill demeanour is risen, and for that also the Church of Winchester maye be in the meane tyme provided of a good Minister that may and will see all thinges done and quietly executed accordinge to the Lawes and commune orderes of this Realme, and for sundrie other greate and urgent causes, we doe by these presentes sequester all the fruites, revenewes, landes, and possessiones of your Bishopricke of Winchester, and discerne, deeme, and judge the same to be committed to the severall recepte, collection, and custodie of such persone or persones as his Ma<sup>tie</sup>. shall appointe for that purpose; and because your former disobedience and contemptes so longe contynuede, so many tymes doubled and aggravated, doe manifestely declare you to be a person without all hope of recoverye and plainely incorrigible, we eftsones admonish and require you to obaye his Ma<sup>ties</sup>. said Comaundement, and that you doe declare yourselfe, by subscription of your hand, both willinge and well contented to accepte, allowe, preache, and teache to otheres the same Artycles, and all such other matteres as be or shalbe sett forth by his Ma<sup>ties</sup> authoritie of supreme Head of this Church of Englande, on this side and within the terme of three monthes, whereof we appoint one month for the first monission, one month for the seconde monition or warninge, and one month for the thirde and peremptory monition, within which tyme as you maye yet declare your Conformetie, and shall have paper, pennes, and inke, when you will calle for them for that purpose; soe yf you refuse and wilfully forbear to declare yourselfe obediente and conformable as is afforesaid, wee intimate unto you, that his Ma<sup>tie</sup>. who like a good gouernore desireth both to keepe his common welth quiete and to purge the same of ill men, especially minesteres, intendeth to proceed againste you as an incorrigible person, and unmete minister of this Church to deprivawnce of your saide Bishopricke.

“Never the lesse upon diveres good consideracions, and specially in hope he might within his tyme be reconciled, it was agreede that the said Bishoppes house and servantes should be maintayned in their present estate untill the tyme of this intimation should expire, and the matter for the meane tyme to be kepte secrette.” (fol. 115, b. 116, 117.)

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At Westminster the xx Day of July an<sup>o</sup> 1550.

“Upon advertismente from Mr. Chamberlèn out of Flanders that the Emperore had there sett forth a certayne Edicte touchinge Religion, wherein it seemeth our Nacōne specially to be touched in such soarte as they shall not be able to endure the dangere therof; therefore were the Marchants Adventureres sent for before the Counsell, and warned not only to withdrawe their goods from thence by litle and litle, but also to beware of sendinge over any greate store of wares.

“Ordere was givene to the Lievetenante of the Towere and Knight Marsheall to suffer the late Duke of Norfolke to have the libertie to walke and ride within the precincte of the Towere soe one of them be presente.” (fol. 118.)

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At Windeso the xxvij Day of July an<sup>o</sup> 1550.

“Beinge this Daye debated what extreame charges the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup>. sustayned in the entertainemente of a great number of Men of Warre, aswell at Callice as in the North, as also of the Irishe which contynued still in wages onely because there wanted money to dispatche them, it was fynally agreede that one hundred thousand of the CC. M. French crounes receaved for the first paye of the French should be taken and employed to that use immediatly.

“And for asmuch as thorough the greate decaye of our moneye, the goulden Coyne of this Realme hath bene of late and yet is wonderfully conveyed in to strange Countrys, to the intente we should



rather give cause to strangeres to bringe in, then these C<sup>m</sup>. Crownes should be caried awaye as the reste, and for the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup>. more advantage nowe in the settinge forth of them, it was agreed that proclamacōne should be made thoroughe out all his Highnes domi-  
niones that all French Crownes of the juste goodnes and weight should be taken and paide currante for vij<sup>s</sup>. of our moneye, which pro-  
clamacōnes were made and sett forth accordingly." (fol. 118, 118 b.)

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At Okinge the xxij of Auguste an<sup>o</sup> 1550.

"A Letter to the Lord Treasurore to waie and cause to be molten downe into Wedges all such Crossés, Images, and Church and Chap-  
pell plate of Gould, as remaine in the Towere, to be further employed as shalbe thought good, with a postscripte that he should receave therinclosed the Warrante signed by the Kings Ma<sup>tie</sup> for the vij.M. pounds appointed to be delivered to S<sup>r</sup>. John Yorke for such purposes as his Lordeship knoweth." (fol. 123 b.)

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At Richemond the vij. of October an<sup>o</sup> 1550.

"A Letter to Docter Cokkes the Kinges Almoner to repaire into Sussexe to appease the People by his good doctrine, which are nowe troubled thoroughe the seditious preachinge of the Bishope of Chee-  
chester and others." (fol. 129.)

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At Westminster the xvij of October an<sup>o</sup>. 1550.

The Duke of Somerset,	The Lord Chamberlen,	Mr. Vice Chamberlen,
The Lord Treasurer,	The Lord Cobham,	Mr. Secretary Cecill.
The Lo: great Chamberlen,	The Lord Pagett,	

This daye, upon occasion of the decease and departure unto God of the Ladie Semore, mother to the Duke of Somerset, the said Duke

reputinge with himselve the bonde of bloude and naturall love towards her, confirmed by her moste happie fruite of the moste vertuous princes the late Queene Janne, beinge therby Grandmother to our Soveraigne Lorde the Kings Ma<sup>tie</sup>, and moved in repect therof so to honor her funerall remembrance as his owne affection might have leaded, and accustomed usage heretofore hath comonly enduced; Neverthelesse havinge regarde what were decente and seemelie for a persone of his estate and vocation to doe and sett forth for the example of othres, required the Lords and otheres of the Counsell above written to shewe him their opinions what were meeteste for him to use; concerninge weringe of Dolle or other like observances of the said Lady his Grandmother's funerales; so as firste respecte were had to his bounden dutie of folowinge and applienge himselfe to the directione of the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup> moste godlie proceedinges, whervnto it generally behoved all his Highnes subjects to frame and temper their doinges; and nexte also to that duty of Love which the Child oweth to the remembrance of his parent, together with the ould receaved usage which the world hath had in estimacōn touchinge the Ceremonies of Funerales and other dependances therof, which beinge by him omitted might diversly in divers menes mouthes abroad be spoken of. Upon which Motione made, the said Lordes waied with themselves that the wearinge of dole and such outward demonstracōns of morninge not only did not any waye profite the dead, but rather (used as they be) served to enduce the livinge to have a diffidence of the better Life wōne to the departed in God by changinge of this transetorie Lyfe; yea and dyvers other wayes did move cause and scruple of couldenes in faith unto the weake; besides that many of the wiser soarte wainge the impertinente charges bestowed upon blacke cloth, and other instrumentes of those funerall pompes, might worthelie finde faulte with the expences therupon bestowed; namly considerenge howe even comonly at this present the observacōn of the tyme of outward morninge, and weringe of the dole, is farre shortened and omitted even amongeste meane persones from that it was wonted to be, and at all tymes heretofore in personages of such



estat as the said Duke is of, beinge also in such place and attendance about the person of a Kinge of this Realme. As well the Kinge our late sovraigne Lord, as other Kings his progenetores were oftentimes wonted to dispence withall, and to plucke of the blacke apparrell from such moreneres backes, wherein a good consideracōn might move them, that in a kinges presence, beinge the hearte and life of his Common-welth, it might with moste reason be borne and allowed that privat men shoulde reserve their privat sorrowes to their own houses, and not to dimme the gladson presence of the Prince with such dolefull toknes. Therefore upon these and other good consideracōnes, they concluded to open this Case unto the Kings Majestie, whose further pleasure might be an Addrese unto the said Duke howe to use himselfe in that behalfe: wherenpon they moved his Highnes accordinglie: and from the same had resolucōn that his Highnes havinge ripelye weied this matter did specially dispence with the said Duke for the wearinge of doole, either upon himselfe or any of his servants or famelie, or the continuinge of some other like funerall observances as heretofore were had in solempe use, servinge rather to pompe than to any edifienge. And to the ende hereafter it might appeare that such was his Ma<sup>ties</sup> pleasure, the Lords decreed the same to be entered into the Counsell booke to remaine for a presidente upon whatt occasion it proceeded." (fol. 130.)

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At Westminster the vij. Day of December an°. 1550.

"This Daye the Bishope of Cheechster appeared before the Counsell, where beinge demaunded of a directe Answere touchinge the execution of the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup> proceedinges mencōned in his Highnes Letteres, he answered plainelic he could not do it, savinge his Conscience: for the Aulters seemed to him a thinge aunciently established by agremente of the holic fatheres, and confirmed by aunciente Doctores, with the custom also of a number of yeares, and as he thought accordinge to the Scriptures, wherefore he could not in

conscience assente to the abolleshinge of them, and determined rather to loose all that ever he had then to condempne his owne Conscience, with many other circumstances to that effecte. Finally, the mattere beinge well debated, it was thought good yet to give him two dayes respite further to be advised in hope he may reconsile himselfe, which yf he doe not upon his nexte Answer, appointed to be on Tusdaye nexte, the Counsell are agreede to proceed ordenarelie againste him as againste a contemptious person by waye of Sequestracōne." (fol. 140 b.)

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At Westminster the xj. of Decemb. an<sup>o</sup> 1550.

" This Daye the Bishoppe of Cheechester was caled before the Counsell, and once againe demaunded whether he would obaye the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup> Comandement touching the pulling downe of the Aulteres as is before rehearsed. He answered that he thanked bothe the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup> and his Counsell of there great Clemencie used towarde him; but, he saide, he could not by any meanes perswade himselfe to doe that thinge that was againste his Consience; wherfore he prayed them to doe with him what they thoughte requisite, for he would never obaye to doe this thing, thinkinge it a lesse evell to suffer the Bodie to perishe than to corupte the soule with that thinge that his Conscience would not beare: wherupon for his Contempte he was by the ordere of the whole Counsell comitted to warde in the Fleete till further order should be takene for him." (fol. 141 b.)

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At Westminster the xiiij Daye of December 1550.

" A Letter to the Lieftenante of the Towere to bring the Bishoppe of Winchester on Mondaye nexte to Lambeth before my Lorde of Canterbury and other Comissioneres upon his Cause: and likewise upone their appointement to bringe him thethere from Daye to Daye at tymes by them prefixed." (fol. 141 b.)



At Grenwiche the xiiij. of January an<sup>o</sup> 1550.

“ This Day M<sup>r</sup> Hopere Bishope ellecte of Gloucester appeared before the Counsell towchinge his oulde matter of denyall to weare such apparrell as other Bishoppes weare, and havinge bene before comaunded to keepe his house, unlese it were to goe to the Bishop of Canterburie, Elye, Londone, or Lincolne, for counsell or satisfaction of his Conscience in that mattere, and further neither to preache nor reade tyll he had further Licence from the Counsell: It appeared bothe that he had not kepte his House, and that he had also written and printed a Booke wherein was contayned matter that he should not have written; for the which, and for that also he persevered in his former opinion of not wearinge the Bishopes aparrel, he was nowe committed to the Bishope of Canterburies custodie, either there to be reformed or further to be punished as the obstinacy of his case requireth.” (fol. 144 b.)

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At Grenwiche the xv. Day of January an<sup>o</sup> 1550.

“ A Warrante to Sir Anthony Aucher Mastere of the Juell house to deliver unto Sir William Pickeringe, the Kings Ma<sup>ties</sup> Ambassador with the French, one dosen Trencher, two Neste of guilte Bolles, on Basone and Ever guilte, one guilte Saulte, ij silver Candlestickes, twoe pere of Flagones, by byll indented, besides the plate remayninge with M<sup>r</sup>. Masone in Fraunce.” (fol. 145.)

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At Greenwiche the xix. Day of January an<sup>o</sup> 1550.

“ This Daye the Bishope of Winchesteres servantes came to the Counsell and desired certaine of them to be sworne upon certayne Articles for witnese on his behalfe; wherunto they answered that upon their honores and as they would answeare before God they

would witnes trulye accordinge to their Conscyences and as effectually as yf they were sworne uppon a Booke." (fol. 145 b.)

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At Greenwich the xxvij Day of January an°. 1550.

" Upon Letteres from the Archbishope of Canterburye that Mr. Hooper cannot be brought to any conformitie, but rather persevere in his obstynacie, coveteth to prescribe orderes and necessarye Lawes of his headd; it was agreed he should be committed to the Fleete.

" A Letter to the Archbishope of Canterbury to sende Mr. Hoopere to the Fleete upon the occasyon afforesaid.

" A Letter to the Wardene of the Fleete to receave the said Mr. Hooper and to keepe him from Conference of any person saving the Ministere of that House." (fol. 147.)

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At Westminster the xv. Day of February an°. 1550.

" Upon debatynge of the Bishope of Winchester's Cause, forasmuch as it appeared he had at all tymes before the Judges of his Cause used himselfe unreverently to the Kings Majestie, and very sclaunderfully towards his Counsell, and specyally yesterdaye, being the Daye of his Judgemente given againste him, he called his Judges heretiques, and sacramentarys, they beinge there the Kinges Commissioneres and of his Highnes Counsell, it was therfore concluded by the whole Boarde, that hee should be removed from the Lodginge he hath nowe in the Towere to a meaner Lodginge, and none to wait upon him but one by the Lievetenantes appointement, in such soarte as, by the resorte of any man to him, he have the meane to sende oute to any man, or to heare from any man. And lykewise that his Bookes and Paperes be taken from him and seene. And that from henceforth he have neither penne, ynke, nor paper to write his



determinable purposes, but be sequestred from all conference, and from all meanes that may serve him to practise any way." (fol. 152 b.)

At Westminster the viij Day of Marche an°. 1550.

" This Daye by the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup> owne appointment Doctor Poynete Bishoppe of Rochester was appointed and admitted Bishoppe of Winchester." (fol. 157.)

At Grenwiche the vj. Day of May an°. 1551.

" A Warrante to Sir Edmond Peckham to paye to M<sup>r</sup>. Cavendishe Treasurer of the Chamber M. vi<sup>C</sup>. iiij<sup>xx</sup> poundes to be by him employed on the Noblemen and gentilmen goinge with the Lord Marques of Northampton in to Fraunce.

" A Warrante to M<sup>r</sup>. Cavendishe Treasurer of the Chamber to paye over the foresayd some of M. vj<sup>C</sup>. iiij<sup>xx</sup> poundes, receaved of Sir Edmonde Peckham, bestowed upon the said Noblemen and Gentlemen attendinge the Marques of Northampton and other Comissyoneres to the Frenche Kinge in forme followinge : viz.

" To

Earles

Worcester  
Ruteland  
Ormonde

CC<sup>ti</sup> apeece

Barrones

Fitzwalter  
Lisley  
Braye  
Evres

CC marks apeece

Gentlemen of the  
Privie Chamber

Sir Henry Sidney  
Sir Nicholas Throg-  
morton

CC marks apeece

Knights		Sir John Cuttes		L <sup>ti</sup> . apeece
		Sir John Parate		
		Sir George Howard		
		Sir Peeter Carewe		
		Sir William Cobham		
Gentlemen		Thomas Hoggenes		XL <sup>ti</sup> apeece"
		M <sup>r</sup> . William Fitzwil- liam		
		Henry Knowles		
		M <sup>r</sup> . Phillippes		
		Nicholas Allexander		
		John Yonge		
		Litle Guillam		(fol. 170 b.)

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At Grenwiche the xxj Day of June an°. 1551.

“ A Letter to the Lord Marques Dorset signefiene Licence to be graunted for to have his plaieres to playe onlye in his Lordshipes presence.” (fol. 177 b.)

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At Richemond the ix Day of August an°. 1551.

“ The Lords did calle to consideracōn how many and sundry wayes the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup>. hath traveled with his Highnes sister, the Lady Mary, to have reduced her to Conformetie in Religion and devine service, established by his Ma<sup>ties</sup> laws and actes of Parleamente. And consideringe also that the longe sufferinge of her and her famelye to doe as they have done sithence the makinge of the said statute, hath beene and yet is a greates occasion of diversetye of oppiniones, strife, and controversye in this Realme: and remembringe withall howe muche the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup>. honoure might be towched yf this matter were not provided for: have with one accord resolved that the head offycers of the said Lady Marye’s howse should be sente for, and charged that from henceforth they shall not permitt nor suffer any



other devine service to be done or used within the said Ladye Maryes house then is sett forth by the Lawes of this Realme. And they shall also further, on his Ma<sup>ties</sup> behalfe, straightelie charge and commande all the sayd Lady Maryes Chaplenes not to presume from henceforthe to saye any Masse or other divine service then is appointed by the Lawes of this Realme, and likewise to commaunde the rest of her graces servants not to presume to be presente to here any suche Masse, upon payne of his Majesties Indignacōn, and for that to be punished accordinge to the Lawes. It was also thought good to the Lordes that, at the returne of those offyceres, Letteres shalbe sente to the said Lady Marye from the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup> by which his Ma<sup>ties</sup> pleasure shalbe signefyed also to her for the observacōn of this order.

“ And because it appeared by letteres from his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Ambassador with the Emperore, that the s<sup>d</sup> Emperore hath required to have his Ambassadors permitted to use in his house the Masse and other devine services here after the popishe manner, and refuseth expresly to suffere the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup>. Ambassadors to use in their houses within his dominiones the Communion and other divine service accordinge to the Lawes of this Realme, their Lordshippes, thinking that this Inequallitie yf it be suffered should much touch his Ma<sup>tie</sup> in honor, have therefore agreed eftesones to write to the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup> Ambassador herein declaringe the unreasonableness of this Answer: and that the Kings Ma<sup>tie</sup> cannot permitt the s<sup>d</sup>. Emperores Ambassador to use their manner of service, unlesse the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup> Ambassadors may have the like permyssyon to use our service there.” (fol. 182 b.)

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At Hampton Court the xiiij Day of August an<sup>o</sup>. 1551.

“ This Daye appeared before the Lords Robarte Rochester Comptrolore of my Lady Maryes House, Edward Walgrave one of the Counsell, and S<sup>r</sup>. Frauncis Englefeild her graces servant; unto whom the Décrée taken by the whole Counsell at Richemond the ix<sup>th</sup> of this presente was readd, wherupon they were comaunded to call her

graces Chapplenes before them: and not only to inhibite them from further sainge of Masse, or other Minestracōn of any manor of ceremonyes, before her, or within her house, or in any other place contrarie to the order of the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup>. Lawes, but also to see that neither theye themselves, nor any other of her famelie, presume to heare any Masse or other suche forbidden Rites or Ceremonies in any manner of wise contrary to the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup>. Lawes, nor to suffer any such to be used, or minestred, not only upon the paynes limeted by the same, but also of the Kinges high indignacōn and displeasure. And for asmuch as the said Rochester made many excuses to avoyde the reporte of this matter unto her Grace, and executyone thereof in the house, he was fynally comaunded upon his alleageaunce to see it performed; and in case her Grace should dismisse him and the reste out of her service upon the receipte of this mesuage by their Mouthes, (as he pretended shee woulde) then was he and the reste commaunded on the Kinges Majesties behalfe, neither to avoyde her service, nor to departe from her house, but to see this order prescribed unto them fulfilled, untill they should have further Commaundement from hense.

“ The said S<sup>r</sup>. Frauncis Englefeild is licensed upon the declaracōn of this matter made by them all three unto the Lady Maryes grace to the effecte of the premyssees accordinge to the Minute remayninge with the Secretarye.” (fol. 185.)

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At Windesor the xxij Day of August an<sup>o</sup>. 1551.

“ This Daye M<sup>r</sup>. Rochester, Sir Frauncis Inglefield, and M<sup>r</sup>. Walgrave, offyceres to the Lady Mary's Grace, were before the Lordes, and declared unto their Lordshippes that uppon Satterday laste the xv<sup>th</sup>. of this presente they arived at Copped Hall, somewhat before night, by reason whereof they did not the same night execute their charge committed to them at Hampton Courte the xiiij<sup>th</sup>. of this presente, the Sondaye followinge beinge the xvj of this presente, because they understood that her grace receaved the Sacramente, for soe they termed it, they did abstayne to delyvere their Let-



teres before noone, consideringe that the same would trouble and disquiete her. So as after dinner takynge comodytie to deliver their letters. After that her Grace had redd them, they made offere to her to declare what Charge they had receaved of the Lords to execute, praienge her Grace to be contented to heare the same: whereunto her Grace made answer that she knewe right well that their Comission agreeinge with such matter as was contained in her Letteres, and that therefore they need not rehearse the same: howbeit, they pressing her Grace, she was fynally contente to heare them; and, when they had said, she seemed to be marvelously offended with them, and charged them that they should not declare that same they had in charge to saye, neither to her Chaplenes nor famelye, which, if they did, besides that they should not take her hereafter for their M<sup>rs</sup>; she would immediately departe out of the house. Upon this, the said Rochester, Inglefeild, and Walgrave said to the Lordes that foras-much as shee often tymes altered her couler, and seemed to be passioned and unquiet, they forbare to trouble her any further, fearinge that the troubelinge of her might bringe her to her ould deseasse: and besought her to consider the matter with herselfe and pause ther-upon againste Wensdaye nexte when they would waite on her Grace and knowe her further pleasure (w<sup>ch</sup> they s<sup>d</sup>e they did) hopinge to have found her then upon more rippe deliberacōn, and debatinge of the matter with herselfe, more conformable, and in the meane tyme they forbare also to declare to her Chaplenes and Houshold the charge they had receaved. But repairinge to her Grace the Wensdaye being the xx<sup>th</sup> of this present, they did not only not finde her conformable, but in further collor then she was before, utterlye forbiddinge them to make declaracōn of their said Charge and Comission to her Chaplenes and Howshould, adding that where she and her housholde were in quiete yf they would by any means disturbe her and them, yf any inconvenyence did ensue therof to her or them, she woulde arecte it to the said Rochester, Inglefeild, and Walgrave; whiche thing considered, they thought it better to returne without doinge their Commyssion and declare thus mucche to their Lordshippes without medlinge any further, then to proceed in the execu-

tyon of the Charge before they had advertysed their Lordshyppes of the premysses. The Lordes, havinge herde thus much, comaunded them to attend untyll they should knowe further of their pleasures. The said Rochester, Inglefeild, and Walgrave brought with them Letteres from the Ladie Maries Grace to the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup>. the tenore whereof was such as followeth.

‘ My dutye moste humbly remembred unto yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup>. it maye please the same to be advertysed that I have by my servantes receaved your moste honorable Letter, the contentes wherof doe not a litle trouble me, and somuch the more for that any of my servants should move or attempte me in matteres towching my sowle, which I thinke the meaneste subjecte within yo<sup>r</sup> Realme could evell beare at their servantes hande, havinge for my parte utterly refused heretofor to talke with them in such matteres, and of all other persones leaste regarded them therein; to whome I have declared what I thinke as she w<sup>ch</sup> trusted that yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup>. would have suffered me yo<sup>r</sup> poore humble sister and beadeswoman to have used the accustomed Masse which the Kinge your father and myne with all his predecessores evermore used, wherin also I have been brought upp from my youth, and therunto my consyence doth not only bynde me, w<sup>ch</sup> by noe meanes will suffer me to thinke one thinge and doe another, but also the promise made to the Emperore by yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ties</sup> Counsell was an assurance to me that in so doinge I should not offend the Lawes, although they seeme now to quallefye and deny the thing. And at my laste waytinge upon yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup>. I was so bould to declare my mynd and consyence to the same, and desired yo<sup>r</sup> Highnes rather then you should constraine me to leave the Masse to take my life, whereunto yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup>. made me a very gentle Answer. And nowe I beseech yo<sup>r</sup> Highnes to give me leave to write what I thinke towching yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup>. Letteres. In deed they be signed with yo<sup>r</sup> owne hand, and neverthelesse in my oppinione not yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup>. in effecte, because it is well knowne (as heretofore I have declared in the presence of yo<sup>r</sup>. Highnes) that althoughe, Our Lorde be praysed, yo<sup>r</sup>. Ma<sup>tie</sup>. hath farre more knowledge and greater guiftes then otheres of yo<sup>r</sup> yeares, yett it is not possyble that yo<sup>r</sup> Highnes can at theis yeares be a Judge in mat-



teres of Religeon. And therefore I take it that the matter in your Letter proceedeth from such as do wish those thinges to take place, which be moste agreeable to themselves: by whose doinges (yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> not offended) I intend not to rule my Conscience. And thus, without molestynge yo<sup>r</sup> Highnes any further, I humblye beseeche the same ever, for God's sake, to beare with me as you have done, and not to thinke that by my doinges or ensample any inconvenyence might growe to yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> or yo<sup>r</sup> Realme; for I use it not after any such soarte; puttyng no doubt but, in tyme to come, whether I live or die, yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> shall perceave that myne intende is grownded upon a true Love towardes yo<sup>u</sup>, whose royall estate I beseech almightie God longe to contynewe, which is and shalbe my daylie prayer, accordinge to my dutye. And after pardon craved of yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> for thes rude and bould Letters, yf neither at my humble suite, nor for regard of the promisse made to the Emperour, yo<sup>r</sup> Highnes will suffer and beare with me, as you have done, tyll yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> may be a Judge herein yourselfe, and right understand their proceedinges (of which yo<sup>r</sup> goodness yet I dispaire not), otherwise, rather then to offend god and my conscience I offer my Bodye at yo<sup>r</sup> will, and death shall be more welcom then lyfe with a trowbeled consyence. Moste humbly beseching yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> to pardon my slowenes in Answeringe yo<sup>r</sup> Let-  
teres, for my oulde deseasse would not suffer me to write any soner. And thus I praye Almightye God to keepe yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> in alle vertue and honor, w<sup>th</sup> good health and longe lyfe to his pleasure. From my poore Howse at Copped Hall the xix of Auguste. Yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ty</sup> moste humble sistere

MARY.''' (fol. 186.)

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At Windesor, the xxij. Day of August an<sup>o</sup>. 1551.

“ This Daye M<sup>r</sup>. Rochester, Sir Frauncis Inglefeild, and M<sup>r</sup>. Walgrave, the Lady Maryes grace's offyceres were called for to come eich of them all one and by themselves before the Lordes, where it was severally laid to their charges that they havinge bene comaunded by

their Lordshipes in the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup>: name to declare to the Chaplenes and Houshold of her grace such matter as they were enioyned at Hampton courte the xiiijth of this presente to saye unto them as appeareth before in this regester. They did not execute the said Comaundemente but without sayinge any thinge to the said Chaplenes and Howshould, did trouble her grace with the openinge of their mesuage to her, contrarye to the order and charge prescribed to them, and soe returned without doinge any thinge in the Charge and Comissyone given unto them, wherfore eich of them by his selfe, and aparte, was comaunded to returne to her graces house and to execute the said Charge aparte, in sorte as the order was given to them all joyntely at Hampton Courte. The which thinge they all refused to doe; albeit they were inioyned to doe the same in vertue of their allegeaunce, and as comaunded from the Kings Ma<sup>tie</sup>: the sayd Rochester and Walgrave saying that they had rather endure whatsoever punishemente or imprisonment the Lordes should thinke meete for them, and S<sup>r</sup>. Francis Inglefield alledging that he coulde neither fynd in his harte nor in his consyence to doe it; wherupon, beinge all three, after they had bene severally enioyned as is beforesaid, comaunded to departe for the tyme into severall places. They were sone after caled all in before their Lordshippes together, by whom they weare comaunded to attend contynually upon them untill such tyme as they should knowe their further pleasure. That done, it was decreed that the Lord Chauncelor and M<sup>r</sup> Secretary Peeter, beinge then in Essex, and S<sup>r</sup>. Anthonye Wingefeild Comptroler of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> houshold being here at Windesore, should repaire to the Lady Maryes Grace with such Letteres as follow.

‘ Right deare, and right entirly beloved Sister we greete you well, and lett you knowe that it greeveth us much to perceave no amendemente in you of that which we for God’s cause, your soules health, our consyence, and the comon tranquilitytye of our Realme, have so longe desired, assuringe you that our sufferance hath much more demonstracōn of naturall love then contentacōn of our consyence and foresight of our safetie, wherfore although you give us occasione as



much almoste as in you is to deminish our naturall love, yet we be lothe to feele it decaye, and mente not to be so careles of you as we be provoked: and therefore meaninge your weale, and therewith joyn- ing a care not to be founde in our conscience to God having cause to require forgivenes, that we have soe long for respecte of Love to- wardes you omitted our bounden dutye; we do send at this presente our right trusty and right well beloved Counselor the Lord Riche our Chauncelor of England, our trusty and right well beloved Counselore S<sup>r</sup>. Anthony Wingfield, knight, Comptroler of our Howshould, and Sir William Peeter, knight, one of our two princepall Secretaryes, in mes- suage to you, touchinge the order of your Howshould, willinge you to give them firme credit in those thinges they shall saye to you from us, and doe ther in our Name. Givene under our Signete, &c." (fol. 189.)

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At Windesor the xxix. Day of August an<sup>o</sup> 1551.

"The Lord Chauncelor, M<sup>r</sup>. Comptroler, and M<sup>r</sup>. Secretarye Peetere beinge returned from the Ladie Maryes Grace, made such reporte of the executyone of their Charge, and of her Grace's Answer as fol- loweth.

'A Note of the Reporte of the Mesuage done to the Lady Maryes Grace by us the Lord Riche Lord Chauncelor of Englande, S<sup>r</sup>. An- thony Wingefeild Knight of the Order and Comptroler of the Kings Ma<sup>ty</sup>. moste honorable Howshoulde, and William Peeter, Knight, one of his Ma<sup>ty</sup>. two princepall Secretaryes: and of her Grace's Answer to the same reported by us all three to the Kings Ma<sup>ty</sup>. and the Lordes of his Ma<sup>ty</sup>. Privie Counsell at Windesore the xxix<sup>th</sup>. daye of Auguste An<sup>o</sup>. 1551.

'Firste havinge receaved Comaundemente and Instructiones from the Kinges Ma<sup>ty</sup>. we repaired to the sayd Lady Maryes Howse at Coppet-Hall in Essex on Fridaie laste, being the 28<sup>th</sup>. of this instante in the Morninge, where, shortelie after our cominge, I the Lord Chauncelor delivered his Ma<sup>ty</sup>. Letteres to her, which she receaved

upon her knees, sainge that for the honore of the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup>. hand, wherwith the said Letteres were signed, she would kisse the L<sup>r</sup>e, and not for the matter contayned in them, for the matter (sayd she) I take to proceed not from his Ma<sup>tie</sup>. but from you of the Counsell.

‘ In the readinge of the Letter, which she did reade secretely to her selfe, she said these wordes in our hearinge, “ Ah! good M<sup>r</sup>. Cicill tooke muche paines here.”

‘ When she had red the Letter, we begane to opene the matter of our Instructiones unto her, and as I the Lord Chauncelore begane, shee prayed me to be shorte, for (said she) I am not well at ease, and I will make you a shorte Answer, notwithstandinge that I have alredy declared and written my mynde to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> plainlye with myne owne hande.

‘ After this we told her at good length how the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup>. having used all the gentle meanes and exortacoñes that he might to have reduced her to the Rights of Religion and Order of Divine service sett forth by the Lawes of the Realme, and fyndinge her nothinge conformable, but styll remayninge in her former error, had resolved by the whole estate of his Ma<sup>ty</sup>. Privie Counsell, and with the consent of diveres otheres of the Nobillitie, that she should no longer use the private Masse, nor any other devine Service then is sett forth by the Lawes of the Realme, and here wee offered to shewe her the Names of all those w<sup>ch</sup> were presente at this Consultacōn and Resolutyon; but she sayd she cared not for any rehearsall of their names, for (said she) I knowe you be all of one soarte therein.

‘ We tould her further that the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup> pleasure was we should also give strait charge to her Chaplenes, that none of them should presume to saye any Masse, or other devine service then is sett forth by the Lawes of the Realme, and like Charge to all her servantes that none of them shoulde presume to heare any Masse or other devin service then is aforesaid. Here unto her Answer was thus. Firste she protested that to the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup>. she was, is, and ever wilbe his Ma<sup>ty</sup>. most humble and moste obediente subjecte and poore Sister, and would moste willingly obaye all his Comaundements in any thing, (her



conscyence saved,) yea and would willingly and gladlye suffer deathe to doe his Ma<sup>tie</sup> good, but rather then she will agree to use any other service then was used at the death of the late Kynge her father, she would laye her heade one a blocke and suffer death. But (said she) I am unworthie to suffer death in so good a quarrell. When the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup> (said she) shall come to such yeares that he may be able to judge thes thinges himselfe, his Ma<sup>tie</sup> shall fynd me readye to obaye his Orderes in religeon, but nowe in these yeares, although he good sweete Kynge have more knowledge then any other of his yeares, yet is it not possyble that he canne be a Judge of these thinges; for yf shippes were to be sente to the seas, or any other thinge to be done touchinge the pollecy and governemente of the Realme, I am sure you would not thinke his Highnes yet able to consider what were to be done, and much lesse, sayd she, can he in these yeares deearne what is fitte in matteres of devinetie. And yf my Chaplenes doe saye no Masse I can heare non, no more can my poore servantes. But as for my servantes I knowe it shalbe againste their willes as it shalbe against myne, for yf they could come where it were sayd they would heare it w<sup>th</sup> good will, and as for my preestes they knowe what they have to doe, the paine of yo<sup>r</sup> Lawes is but imprisonemente for a shorte tyme, and if they will refuse to say Masse for fear of that imprisone- mente they may doe therin as they will; but non of your newe serv- is (sayd she) shalbe used in my house, and yf any be said in it, I will not tarye in the House.

‘ And after this we declared unto her Grace, accordinge to our In- structiones, for what causes the Lords of the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup> Counsel had appointed Rochester, Inglefeild, and Walgrave, beinge her ser- vants, to open the premisses unto her, and howe ill and untruly they had used them selves in the Charge committed unto them, and, be- sides that, how they had manifestely disobeyed the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup> Coun- sell, &c. To this she sayd it was not the wiseste Counsell to appointe her servauntes to comptrole her in her owne house, and that her ser- vants knewe her mynde therein well enough, for of all men she might worste endure any of them to move her in any such matters, and for

their punishmente, my Lords may use them as they thinke good, and yf they refused to doe the Mesuage unto her and her Chaplenes and servantes as afforesayd, they be (said she) the honestest men, for they should have spoke againste their owne Conscyenses.

‘After this when we had at good length declared unto her the effecte of our Instructiones touchinge the promisse which she claymed to have bene made to the Emperore, and besides had opened unto her at good length all such things as we knewe and had heard therein, her Answer was that she was well assured the promise was made to the Emperor, and that the same was once graunted before the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup> in her presence, then beinge there seven of the Counsell, notwithstandinge the denyall therof at my laste beinge with his Ma<sup>tie</sup>; and I have (quoth she) the Emperores hand testefieng that this promise was made, which I beleewe better then you all of the Counsell. And though you esteeme litle the Emperor, yet should you shewe more favore to me for my fatheres sake, who made the more parte of you, almoste of nothinge. But as for the Emperor (said she) yf he were dead I would saye as I do. And yf he would give me nowe other advise I would not followe it, notwithstandinge (quoth she) to be plaine with you, his Ambassadors shall knowe howe I am used at yo<sup>r</sup> hands.

‘After this we opened the Kinges Ma<sup>ty</sup> pleasure for one to attend upon her grace for the supplie of Rochesteres place, duringe his absence, &c. as in the Instructiones. To this her Answer was that she would appointe her owne offyceres, and that she had yeares suffitiente for that purpose, and yf we lefte any such man there she would goe out of her gates, for they two would not dwell in one house. And (quoth she) I am sickelye, and yet I will not die willingly, but will doe the beste I can to preserve my life; but yf I shall chaunce to die, I will protest openly that you of the Counsell be the causes of my death: you give me fair wordes but your deedes be alwayes ill towards me. And havinge said thus she departed from us into her bed-chamber, and delivered to me the Lord Chauncelor a Ringe, upon her knees, most humbly, with very humble recommendacōnes, saience that



she would die his true subjecte and sister, and obaye his Comaundements in all things excepte in theis matters of Religeon, towchinge the Masse and the newe service. But yet (said shee) this shall never be towld to the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup> : &c.

‘ After her departure we called the Chaplenes and the reste of her Houshold before us, givinge them strait comaunderment, upon paine of their Allegeance, that neither the preastes should from henceforth say any Masse, or other devine service then that which is sett forth by the Lawes of the Realme, nor that they the residue of the servants should presume to hear any.

‘ The Chaplaynes, after some take, promised all to obaye the Kinges Ma<sup>ty</sup>. commaundment signefyed by us.

‘ We gave lyke Comaundement to them and every of them, upon their Allegiaunce, to give notyce to some one of the Counsell, at the least, yf any masse or other devine servyce then that which is sett forth by the Lawes of this Realme, should be hereafter said in that House.

‘ Finally when we had said and done as is afforesaid, and were gone out of the House, taryenge there for one of her Chaplenes, who was not with the reste when we gave the Charge afforesaid unto them, the Lady Maryes Grace sente to us to speak with her one worde at a windowe : when wee were com into the Courte, notwithstanding that wee offered to come upp to her chamber, she would needes speake out of the window; and praied us to speake to the Lords of the Counsell that her Comptroler might shortlie returne. For (sayd shee) sithence his departyng, I take the accomptes myselfe of my expences, and learned howe many loves of Bread be made of a bushel of wheate : and I wis my father and my mother never broughte mee upp with bakinge and brewinge. And, to be plaine with you, I am wearye of myne offyce, and therfore yf my Lordes will sende myne offycere home, they shall doe me pleasure, otherwise yf they will send him to prison, I beshrowe him yf he go not to it merely, and with a good will, and I praye God to send you to doe well in your soules and bodies too, for some of you have but weake bodyes.’

“ [A Letter] to the Warden of the Flette to conveye thorough the Bridge to the Towere the said Rochester, Inglefeild, and Walgrave, to be had thether severally.

“ To the Lievetennante of the Tower to receave the said Rochester, Inglefeild, and Walgrave, so as they have conference with no man; and that every of them have a man to attend upon him, and not to confer with anye person, but to remayne with their M<sup>r</sup>. for seeinge that none of them have penne, ynk, and paper.” (fol. 194.)

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At Chelsey the xxij Day of September an<sup>o</sup>. 1551.

“ Nicholas Bishope of Worcester, by expresse comaundemente from the Kinges Majestye given to the Privie Councell, was sent for, and came before the Lords and the others, to whom was repeated the cause of his imprisonement to be for that he refused to subscribe the Booke devised for the forme of makinge of Archbishoppes, Bishoppes, Preestes, and Deacons, being authorised by Parleamente; at the tyme of which refusall, beinge not only gently and reasonablye required to subscribe it, but also beinge manifestely taught by divers other learned men that all thinges contained in that Booke were good and true, and that the Booke was expediente and alloweable, the Bishopp declared him selfe to be a very obstynateman: and for that his doinge it was now shewed unto him that he deserved longer imprisonment; neverthelesse the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup>. clemencye was such, that now, yf he had or would reconcill himselfe and obaye his Ma<sup>tie</sup>. in this former comaundement, he should recover the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup>. favore, for which cause it was tould to him that he was then presently sent for and willed now to subscribe the same, whereunto he answered, confesseynge that he tooke the cause of this imprisonement to be as was alledged, and that also he was very gently used rather like a sonne than a subjecte, neverthelesse he said he remayned in the same mind, not willinge to subscribe it although he would not disobaye; and although he was reasoned withall by every of the sayd



Counsell in disponinge his mannor of Answere that he would not subscribe it, beinge everye thinge in the said booke true and good, and beinge devised by xj<sup>th</sup> other learned men to the which he was joyned as the xij<sup>th</sup>. and receaved of all the whole estate of the Realm, agreeing also that he would obaye it but not subscribe it, which containd a contradictione in reason, yet he styll as a man not removeable from his owne conceipte refused to subscribe it, wherupon to prove all manner of wayes for the wininge of him to his dutye, he was offered to have conference with learned men and to have tyme to consyder the matter better :: whereunto he sayd that he would have no better conference then he had heretofore, and well might he have tyme; but of other mynde he thought never to be, adding that there be many other things wherunto he would not consent, yf he were demaunded, as to take down Alteres and sett up Tables, and in this sorte seing him obstynately settled in mynd not to be conformable, he was in the Kings Ma<sup>ty</sup>. name expresly comaunded and charged to subscribe the same before Thursedaye nexte followinge, beinge the xxiiij<sup>th</sup> hereof, upon paine of deprivacōn of his Bishopricke to all and singuler effectes which might followe thereof, and hearinge that Comaundemente he resolutely answered he could not fynde in his conscience to do it, and should be well contente to abyde such ende either by deprivacōn or otherwise as pleased the Kinges Ma<sup>ty</sup>: and so, as a man incorrigible, he was returned to the Fleete." (fol. 200.)

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At Westminster the xviiij. Day of October an<sup>o</sup>. 1551.

"Mr. Whalley this Daye is comitted to the Towre for beinge in Confedaracye w<sup>th</sup> the Duke of Somersete in the Conspiracye intended againste the Kinges Ma<sup>ty</sup> and the Estate of y<sup>e</sup> Realme.

"Miles the Lord Greyes man, Roland Clark, and Fisher, [were] comytted to the Marshealsee for the like Cause afforesaide." (fol. 209 b.)

At Westminster the xxv. Day of October an°. 1551.

“A Letter to the Ladie Marye and the Ladie Elizabeth signefyinge unto them the Arivall of the Queene Dowager of Scotland at Portsmouth and her cominge to the Kinge's presence, and passage thorough the Realme.” (fol. 211.)

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At Westminster the xxv Day of October an°. 1551.

“A Letter to divers Noblemen and Ladyes to attend upon the Lord Marques of Northampton and the Ladie Marques his wife, for the receavinge of the Queene Dowager of Scotlande at Hampton Courte.” (fol. 211, b.)

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At Westminster the xxvi. Day of October, an°. 1551.

“A Letter to the Earle of Shrewesbury to signefye hether what talke passed this laste sommer betwixte M<sup>r</sup>. Whalley and him wherof he opened some parte unto the Duke of Northumberlande.” (fol. 212.)

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At Westminster the xxvij Day of October an°. 1551.

“A Letter to M<sup>r</sup>. Cotton, M<sup>r</sup>. Wingefeild, and other gentlemen appointed to receave and attend upon the Queene Dowager of Scotland to signefy hether what they have done in her receavinge and what time she intendeth to be here.

“A Letter to Sir Persivall Harte to prepare himself to come upp hether with the Lady his wife to accompany the Queen Dowager of Scotlande into the North parts.” (fol. 212.)

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At Westminster the xxviii. Day of October an°. 1551.

“Letteres to the Sherifes of the Sheires and other Gentlemen nere the partes wher the Scottish Dowager shall passe to prepare themselves



to receave and conducte her thorough their limytes, in soarte as may beste stand w<sup>th</sup> the Kings Ma<sup>ties</sup>. honore and their owne Estemacōn, and to give order for the quiete behavioure of the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup>. subjectes towards the said Dowager and her Trayne, &c.” (fol. 212 b.)

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At Westminster the ij Day of November an<sup>o</sup>. 1551.

“ A Letter to the Duches of Suffolke, the dowagere, intreatyngc her to lodge the Queene dowager of Scotlande at her howse at Staumforde.

“ A Letter to M<sup>r</sup>. Chester to lodge the Queene Dowager of Scotlande at his house at Royston.

“ A Letter to Sir Ralfe Sadler to entertayne the Queene Dowager of Scotlande and see her well accompanied, and her Trayne well usede for their reasonable moneye at their passinge through Hertefordsheire.” (fol. 214 b.)

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At Westminster the xvi. Day of November an<sup>o</sup>. 1551.

“ A Letter to the Lord Ogle signefyeinge unto him that the Kings Ma<sup>tie</sup>. hath written his Letters aswell unto the Governor and Counsell of Scotlande as to the Queene Dowager there also for redresse of Injuryes, willinge him at the said Queenes passage by those Borderes, at her goinge nowe into Scotlande, to opene in like manner unto her by mouth the wante of Justyce that hath happened through the defaulte of the Scottes mynesters, with also the heynous murder that was latelye comitted by the Scottes within the Lord Connyeres Charge.” (fol. 219 b.)

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At Westminster the xxi. Day of November an<sup>o</sup>. 1551.

“ A Letter to the Sherife of Devon to serche for Stukeley servante to the Duke of Somersett, and to apprehend him and send him safely hethere.”

“ A Letter to the Lievetenante of the Towere to remove the Duke of Somerset to an other Lodginge, and that his servant Whittingham be suffered to repaire thether for the setting up of his Bedd there, so as he have noe Conference with the Duke; and to receave by indenture certayne plate of the Lord Chamberlen to serve for the use of the said Duke and the Earle of Arundell.

“ A Letter to the Lord Cobham, Mr. Treasurer, and Mr. Secretarye Peeter to delyver to the Lord Chamberlen a Basone and an Ewer of silver, a silver Salte, a Spooone, a Potte, and ij Boles of Silver of the Earl of Arundeles plate to be by the said Lord Chamberlen sente to the Towere to the sayd Earle's use.” (fol. 220 b. 221.)

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At Westminster the xx Day of December an<sup>o</sup>. 1551.

“ Whereas the Bishope of Duresme, about July in an<sup>o</sup> 1550, was charged by Ninian Meuvill to have consented and bine agreeable to a conspiracye in the North for the makinge of a rebellyon, as by the same accusation in writyng, the Bishopes answer therto, and Meuviles replycatyon to the same, may at better lengthe appeere. Forasmuch as for wante of a Letter written by the said Bishope to Meuvyle wherupon dependeth a great tryall of this matter the determyneacon therof was hetherto stayed, and the Bishoppe only comaunded to keepe his House untill he should be caled to further aunswer, w<sup>ch</sup> Letter, beinge latelye com to light, found in a Caskett of the Duke of Somersetts after his laste apprehencōn, the said Bishoppe was nowe sent for, and this daye made his apparance before the Lordes; to whome beinge eftsoones charged w<sup>th</sup> this mattere and his owne Letter produced againste him, which he could not denye but to be of his owne hande, and unable to make any further Answer therto then he had don before by writyng, he was, for that the same seemed no suffytyent answer, comitted by the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup> comaundement to warde to the Tower of London to abide there such order as his doinges by the course of the Lawe shall appeare to have deserved.” (fol. 224 b.)



At Grenwiche the xxx Day of December an<sup>o</sup> 1551.

“ This Daye the Lord Admyrall beinge returned out of France delivered to the Lords the Rateficacōn of the Mariage betweene the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup> and the Lady Elizabeth the French Kinges daughter, under the greate seale of Fraunce, and it was accorded that the same Treatie shoulde be delivered to the Lord Treasurer to be by him reposed in the Treasury of the Exchequere to remayne there of Recorde in saufe keepinge.” (fol. 226 b.)

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At Grenwiche the x. Day of June an<sup>o</sup> 1552.

“ A Licence to Richard Jugge printer to sell the Newc Testament lately by him sett foarth for xxij<sup>d</sup> the peece in quieres, notwithstandinge his Recognезones wherein he stood bounde not to utter the same, tyll the Lords had sett a reasonable price on them.” (fol. 248)

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At Westminster the iij Day of December an<sup>o</sup>. 1552.

“ This Daye the Earle of Arrundell havinge before made his Submission to the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup>, the Coppie whereof is hereunder written, cam before the Lordes and others of his Highnes privie Counsell, and understandinge by their Lordshippes the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup>. Clemencie (in respecte of his Offences) aswell for the payment of his fyne of vj. m. markes in sixe yeares by m. markes by yeare, as for the releasinge of such right and intereste as he hath or hath had of the Kinges Ma<sup>ties</sup>. parkes of Bignor, Wallington, Maidehooue, Riveres, and the great parke of Petworth, with the offyce and woodeauxe, he, the said Earle, submitting himselfe moste willingly and lowly to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> pleasure hercin, did knowledge a Recognesones of x. m. markes for the performance of the same, as by the Coppie of the said Recognезones hereafter writtene may at better length appeare, wherupon, the Kinges

pleasure knowne, he was discharged of his Imprisonement and sett at his free libertie, with admonición given to him by the Lordes of the Counsell to contynue the duetie of a Nobleman, and to be that in deede which he well professed in his wordes.

A Coppie of the Earle of Arrundales Submission to the Kinges  
Grace.

“ It maye please your exelent Ma<sup>tie</sup> to vnderstand y<sup>t</sup> where I Henrye Earle of Arundell, nowe prisoner in the Towere of Londone, have bene charged to be one of the Confederates and Conspiratoures with Edward late Duke of Somersette lately attaynted, and with other, for the apprehentione and imprisoninge of diveres Noblemen then and yet beinge of yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ties</sup> privie Counsell: and for asmuche as upon myne Examinacōnes taken duringe the tyme of myne Imprisonement in the Towere of London before John Duke of Northumberlande, John Earle of Bedforde, William Lord Marques of Northampton, William Earle of Pembroke, and Sir Philippe Hobbye Knight, and otherwise, it doth appeare that I the said Henrye Earle of Arundell was privie and of knowledg of the sayd daungerouse Conspiracye, practised by the said latte Duke and otheres to the perill of the Estate of this your Realme: and for asmuch also as I the said Earle of Arundell did not accordinge to my moste bounden dutye reveale so much as I did knowe of the said Dukes intent to yo<sup>r</sup> Highnes or to some otheres of yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ties</sup> privie Counsell, but did conseale and keepe the same secrete, whereby I do confesse and acknowledge that I have not onely worthelye deserved this mine Imprisonement, but also that the same mine offences and conceylements should be daungerouse unto me without yo<sup>r</sup> Mat<sup>ies</sup> clemencye: for the mittegatinge therefore of the same I doe moste humbly acknowledge by this my Submyssyon my saide Offences, and do crave and desire your moste gracious pardon for the same; and further submitt my selfe for the premisses to the most mercifull order of yo<sup>r</sup> Highnes, and of yo<sup>r</sup> moste honorable Counsell.” (fol. 259.)



After the 15<sup>th</sup> of June 1553 till the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, no entries appear to have been made upon the books of the Council.

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*Extracts from the Harleian Manuscript, Num. 643.*

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At the Tower, the xiiij<sup>th</sup> Day of August an°. 1553.

“ This Daye, upon the occasion of a Tumulte at Paules Crosse, was this order taken by the Counsell with the Lord Maior and the Aldermen of the Cittie of London ; firste to call to morrowe next a Comon Counsell and Assemblie, wherin to charge everie housholder with in their Liberties, to keepe his Children, Apprentices, and other Servants in such order and awe as they followe their worke the weeke dayes, and keepe their parrishe Churches the Hollydayes, and otherwise to be suffered to attempte nothinge tendinge to the violacōn of the common peace: and that for the contrarie everye of them to stand charged for his Childrene and Servants, declaringe also in [the] said Assembly in the beste wordes the Maior and Recorder can devise the Queene's Hignes determynacōn and pleasure uttered unto them by the Queene's owne mouth in the Towere, as Yesterday, being the xij of this Instante, w<sup>ch</sup> was that albeit her Grace's Conscyence is stayed in matter of Religeon, yet she meaneth graciously not to compell or straine other menes Conscyences otherwise then God shall (as she trusteth) putt in their Heartes a perswasyon of the Truth that she is in thorough the openinge of his worde unto them by godly, vertuous, and learned Preachers, with the reste of that mattere.

“ Secondly they be ordred every man in his Warde, severally to send forthw<sup>th</sup> for the Curates of every Parrishe Church within their Liberties, and to warne them not only to forbear to preach or make any open or solempne Readinge of the Scripture in their Churches, unlese

the said Preachers be such as be speciallie licenced therunto by the Queenes Highnes.

“ Thirdlie, to have a speciall eye and regarde to the Cõmon watche in the nighte, within the precincte of their Liberties appointinge the moste of the substanciall housholders to keepe the said Watche.

“ And Fourthlye to apprehend v. or vj. of the Authors (as nigh as they can) of the said Tumulte and to cōmitte them to warde till further be knowne of the Queenes pleasure.” (fol. 1.)

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At the Tower the xiiij. Day of August an°. 1553.

“ The Lord Maior of London and his bretherene have Wensdaye nexte beinge the xvj. of this Instante at viij of the Clocke in the Morninge to bring unto the Lordes of the Counsell a full resolucōn whether they be able or no, by their authoritie, to keepe the Cittye cōmitted to their Charge without seditious tumultes, and findinge themselves hable so to doe, to make declaracōn by what meanes or pollecye they will do it; and if they be not hable, then the Maior to to yelde up his Swoarde unto the Queenes Highnes and to shewe the Lettes and Impedimentes of their vnhabillitie.” (fol. 2 b.)

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At Richemond the xxij Day of August an° 1553.

“ This Daye the Queene’s Highnes made the Right Reverend father in God Steeven Gardenere Bishope of Winchester, Lord Chauncelor of Englande.” (fol. 4.)

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At Richemond the iiij Day of September an° 1553.

“ A Letter to the Bishope of Cheechester doinge him to understande that the Queenes Highnes hath specially appointed him to make a Sermon on the Coronacione Daye before Her Grace at Westminster.” (fol. 6 b.)



At Richemond the x. Day of September an°. 1553.

“ A Letter to the Livetenante of the Towere wherby he is willed to permitte these Ladyes following to have accesse unto their Husbandes, and there to tarrye with them so longe and at such tymes as by him shalbe thought convenyente. That is to saye the Lord Ambroses wife, the Lord Robartes wife, Sir Francy's Jobsones wife, Sir Henrye Gattes his wife, and Sir Richard Corbetts wyfe.

“ A Letter to the Gentlemen of Cornewall of thanks for their honeste proceedinges in the Ellection of the Knights for that Countye, signefyinge unto them that the Sheriffe is written unto to accepte their Ellection without further troublinge of that Countie with any other alteracōn.

“ A Letter to the said Sherife to accepte the said Ellection, and in no wise to trouble the Countye with any other Ellection.” (fol. 8.)

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At Westminster the xiiij Day of September 1553.

“ This Daye M<sup>r</sup>. Hugh Lattymer clercke appeared before the Lordes and for his seditious demeanor was comitted to the Towere, there to remaine a close prisoner, havinge attendinge upon him one Ansty his servante.” (fol. 8 b.)

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At the Starre Chamber the viij. of September an°. 1553.

“ This presente daye Thomas Archbishoppe of Canterburie appeared before the Lordes (as he was the daye before appoynted) after longe and serious debatynge of his Offence by the whole boarde, it was thought convenyente that as well for the Treason committed by him, againste the Queene's Ma<sup>tie</sup> as for the aggravatynge of the same his offence, by spreadinge aboute seditious Billes movinge tumultes to the disquietnes of the presente State, he should be comitted to the

Towere, there to remayne and be referred to Justyce or further ordered as shall stande with the Queens pleasure." (fol. 9.)

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At Westminster the iiij Day of October, 1553.

"The Archbishophe of Yorke was for diveres his Offences this Daye comytted to the Towere of London." (fol. 11.)

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At Westminster the xvij Day of December an°. 1553.

"A Letter to the Livetenante of the Tower, willinge him at conveyente tymes, by his discrecyon, to suffer the late Duke of Northumberland's Children to have the liberty of the walke within the gardene of the Towere. And also to minister the like favour to the Ladye Jane and Docter Cranmere, upon suggestyon that diverse be and have bene evell at ease in their bodyes for want of Ayre." (fol. 13.)

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At Westminster the xij Day of January, an° 1553.

"This Day Robarte Robothom, of the Wardrobe of the Robes, for his lewde Talke that the Kings Ma<sup>tie</sup> late desceased should be yet livinge, was committed to the Fleete untill farther examynacone of the matter, there to remayne as close prisonere." (fol. 14.)

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At Westminster the xij Day of January an° 1553.

"This Daye Johan Wheelere wife of Thomas Wheeler of Poplere in the parishe of Stepenheath for her develishe sayinge that King Edward was styll lyvinge, was this daye comytted to the Towere to be kepte there as close prisonere." (fol. 14.)



“ Thomas Wheelere for his slaunderous reportes, and consealinge of the bruite of the late Kinge his being alyve, was this daye comitted to the Marshealsye.” (fol. 14.)

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At Westminster the viij Day of Marche a<sup>no</sup>. 1553.

“ A Letter to the Livetenaunte of the Towere to deliver to S<sup>r</sup>. John Williames the bodies of the late Archbishope of Canterbury, Doctor Ridley, and M<sup>r</sup>. Lattymmer to be by him convaied to Oxeford.

“ A Letter to the Lady Frauncys, Duches of Suffolke, to delyver unto the Lord Admyrall the parleament Robes lately belonginge to the Duke her husband; or yf he have them not to lett the same Lorde Admyrall understand wher they remaine, to the end he may send for the same.” (fol. 20 b.)

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At S<sup>t</sup>. James's the iij Day of May an<sup>o</sup> 1554.

“ It was this Daye ordered by the Lordes that the Maiore of Oxeford should bringe in his Byll of Allowances for the Charges of Doctor Cranmer, Doctor Ridleye, and M<sup>r</sup>. Lattimer, and should have a Warrante for the same, and furthere it was resolved by their Lordshippes that the Judges and the Queenes Highnes Counselle learned should be called together, and their Opinions demaunded what they thinke in Lawe her Highnes may doe touchinge the Causes of the sayd Cranmer, Ridley, and Lattimer, being, alredie, by both the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge judged to be obstynate Heretiques, which matter is the rather to be consulted upon for that the said Cranmer is allredy attainted.” (fol. 23 b.)

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At Richemond the xj. Day of June an<sup>o</sup> 1554.

“ Letteres from the Queene to S<sup>r</sup>. Thomas Moyle and Sir Thomas Crispe to meete with the Duke of Savoye at his Arivall at Dover, and

there seinge him and all his Traine with all other noble men that shall come before or after him well entreated, and to conducte the Duke of Savoye towards Rochester.

“ A Letter of lyke effecte to S<sup>r</sup>. Robarte Southewell to meete the said Duke of Savoye betweene Sittingborne and Rochester, and soe to accompany him to Gravesende or to Blacke heathe.

“ A Letter to the Lord Clinton also to meete the Duke of Savoye at Gravesend or Blacke heath, and so accompany him to London.” (fol. 27 b.)

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At Richemond the xiiij Day of June an<sup>o</sup>. 1554.

“ A Letter to John Norrise gentlman Usher, signefienge the Lord Chamberlene hath given order for the Hanginges he wrotte for, and that he should cause convenyente and decent stages to be made in the Trinity Church for the Marryage, after such forme as shalbe declared unto him by Garter Kinge at Armes, who is sente thether therfore to instruct him therein.” (fol. 28.)

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At Richemond the xv. Day of June an<sup>o</sup>. 1554.

“ A Letter to the Lord Dudleye, willinge him where he hath determyned to give such Liveries as the Prince of Spaine giveth, to desiste therefro, forasmuch as the same shoulde be unfyttinge: the Princes Lyverye beinge a speciall note wherby his servants may be knowne.” (fol. 28.)

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At Farnham the xxiiij Day of June an<sup>o</sup>. 1554.

“ This daye it was ordered by the Lords and otheres of the Counsell that the Livetenante of the Towere, beinge paide for the diets of the prisoners remaining in the said Towere untill this Daye after such rates as himselfe demaundeth by his presente Bill, should hence-



forth be allowed for suche of them as hereafter are named in soarte as followeth.

Item for the late Earle of Warwicke - - - vj.<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>  
For the late Lord Ambrose Dudleye - - - vj.<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>  
For the late Lord Roberte Dudleye - - - vj.<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>  
For the late Lord Henry Dudleye - - - vj.<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>  
For the late Lord John Graye - - - vj.<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

per diem, their Servantes Dietes being comprised in the same. For S<sup>r</sup>. Andrewe Dudleye xxxij.<sup>s</sup>. iiij<sup>d</sup>; For Sir James Croftes xxxij.<sup>s</sup>. iiij<sup>d</sup>. by the Weeke; and their Servantes Diets beinge comprised in the same. For Edmond Tremaine by the Weeke x<sup>s</sup>. S<sup>r</sup>. William Sentelowe, William Smethwicke, John Harrington, to be removed from the Towere to the Fleete. James Prindle, James Ingram to be removed from the Towere to the Marshalsee." (fol. 29.)

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At Winchester the xxvij Day of July an<sup>o</sup>. 1554.

" This Daye it was ordered by the Boarde that a Note of all such matteres of State as should passe from hence should be putte in to Latten or Spanyshe from henceforth, and the same to be delyvered to such as it should please the Kinge's Highnes to appointe to receave it.

" It was also ordered that all matteres of Estate passynge in the Kinge and Queenes name should be signed with both their handes.

" It was further ordered that a Stampe be made in both their names for the stampinge of such matteres as should be requisite." (fol. 31.)

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At Westminster the xxj. Day of August an<sup>o</sup>. 1554.

" This Daye it was resolved by the Boarde that the Queene's Highnes should be moved for rewardes to be givene to the Ambassadors of diveres Princes, as followeth:

To the Ambassadors of the Emperore, Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Curres vC<sup>ii</sup> in plate.  
 To the King of Romane's Ambassador - - - - - vC<sup>ii</sup> in plate.  
 To the King of Beheames Ambassador - - CCC markes in plate.  
 To the Queene of Poles Agent - - - - - C<sup>ii</sup> in a Cheane  
 To the maker of the Present which the said Agente  
     brought to the Queene - - - - - XL<sup>ii</sup> in a Cheane.  
 The Ambassadors of the Duke of Florence - - - C<sup>ii</sup> in a Cheane.  
 The Ambassadors of Jeane - - - - - CC<sup>ii</sup> markes in a Cheane.  
 To the Ambassadors of Mantua - - - - - C<sup>ii</sup> in a Cuppe of goulde.  
 To the Agente of the Cardinall of Trent - - - L<sup>ii</sup> in a Cheane.  
 To the Agente of the Cardinall of August - - - L<sup>ii</sup> in a Chean.  
 To the Agent of Ffrancisco Deste - - - - - L<sup>ii</sup> in a Cheane.  
 To the Agente of Cardinall Pogio - - - - - L<sup>ii</sup> in a Cheane.''  
(fol. 33 b.)

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At Hampton Court y<sup>e</sup> xvj. Day of September an<sup>o</sup> 1554.

" A Letter from the Kinge and Queen's Highnes to the Lord Treasurer, authorisinge him to dissolve the Parkes of Maribone and Hide, and havinge bestowed the Dere and Palle of the same to their Ma<sup>ties</sup>. use, upon a due Survaye of the grounds of the said Parke, soe to distribute the parcelles therof to the Inhabitants dwellinge thereabouts as maye be moste to their Highnes advauntage and comoditie of their lovinge Subjects." (fol. 35 b.)

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At Hampton Courte the xxv. Day of September an<sup>o</sup> 1554.

" A Letter to the Mayore and Bailifes of Oxeford to delivere the late Bishoppe of Canterburie, Doctor Ridley, and Latymer, over to the Charge of the newe Maiore and Bailifes that shall succede in their rowme." (fol. 37.)



At Westminster the xix Day of February an° 1544.

“ A Pasporte directed to all Maiores, Sherifes, Bailifes, &c. to per-  
mitt Miles Coverdall to passe from hence towards Denmarke with  
two of his servants, his bagges and baggages, without any their un-  
lawfulle lette or serche.

“ Christofer Humingwood suspecte to have cutt of the heade of the  
Ymage of S. Thomas was comitted to the Towere to be there secretly  
kepte without having Conference with any.” (fol. 39 b)

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At Westminster the xvij Day of Marche an° 1554.

“ A Letter to the Earle of Oxeforde and the Lorde Riche to be  
presente at the burninge of such obstinat persones as presently are  
sente doune to be burned in diveres partes of the County of Essex,  
and to be aydinge to the Sherife of the said Sheire therein.” (fol. 41.)

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At Hampton Court the xxij Day of Aprill an° 1555.

“ A Letter to S<sup>r</sup>. Nicholas Hare M<sup>r</sup>. of the Roles, and other the  
Justyces of Peace in the Countye of Midlesex, with the Kinge and  
Queenes Hignes Writt, for the Executyone of William Flower ats  
Braunche, signefienge unto them that for asmuch as the said Flowere  
offence was so enōrme and heynous, their Ma<sup>s</sup>. were further pleased  
for the more terrible example he should before he were executed  
have his right hande striken off.” (fol. 44 b.)

---

At Hampton Courte the iij Day of May an°. 1555.

“ A Letter to George Colte and Thomas Danyell to make serche  
for John Barnard and John Walshe, who have used to repaire to Sud-

burye and carrienge the bones of one Piggot that was burned about them, doe shewe the same to the people as Reliques, and perswade them to stand in their erre, and upon their Apprehension to examyne them; and yf they be founde falty herein to comitt them to warde, and further to order them accordinge to the Lawes, and signefye their doinges hether." (fol. 45 b.)

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At Hampton Court the xj. Day of May an<sup>o</sup> 1555.

"Edwarde Fetherstone als Constable naming himselfe Edwarde the sixte, was this Daye committed to the Marshealsee." (fol. 46 b.)

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At Hampton Court the xvj. Day of May an<sup>o</sup> 1555.

"It was this Daye ordered that the Persones underwritten, who are appoynted to beare the Newse of the Queenes Ma<sup>ty</sup>. good Deliverance (which our Lorde well sende) to sundrie Princes, shall have allowances as followeth, viz.

"To the Lord Admirall sente to the Emperour iiij<sup>li</sup> per diem. In preste CC.<sup>li</sup>

"To the Lord Fitzwalter to be sente to the Frenche Kinge per diem iiij<sup>li</sup>. In prest CC. markes.

"S<sup>r</sup>. Henry Sidneye to be sente to the Kinge of Romaines and Boheamia v. markes by the Daye. In preste vC. markes.

"Richard Shelley to be sente to the King of Portugal iiij markes per Diem. In preste iiijC. markes." (fol. 48.)

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At Hampton Court the xxvij Day of Maye an<sup>o</sup>. 1555.

"A Letter to the Lord Treasurore to cause preparacōn to be made of such money as is appointed for such persones as shall carie the



joyfull tydinges of the Queenes Mat<sup>ty</sup>. good Delivery, to divers Princes, so as they be not driven to tarye for the same when the tyme shall come." (fol. 51.)

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At Grenwiche the xvj. Daye of September an<sup>o</sup> 1555.

"The Bishoppe of Ely exhibited this Daye in the Counsell Chamber a Bull from the Popes Holines, beringe date the vij Daye of June 1555, wherin the lande of Ireland is erected to the name and title of a Kingdom, which Bull was forthwith delivered by the Counsell to the Bushope of Dublene, to be published in the said Realme of Irelande and Transcriptes to be made thereof throughout the said Realme, and afterward to be laide uppe in the said Treasurie of that Realme." (fol. 62.)

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At S<sup>t</sup>. James the x Daye of December an<sup>o</sup> 1555.

"This Daye was delivered unto the Handes of the Lorde Treasurore by the Reverend Father in God the Bishoppe of Elye, to be fastlye reposed in the Kinge and Queenes Ma<sup>ty</sup>s. Treasurye, the Popes Holines Bull under leade touchinge the erectione and confirmacon of theire Ma<sup>ty</sup>s. Tytle of Kinge and Queene in the Realme of Ireland, beringe date at Rome in anno 1555. Septimo Ides Junij An<sup>o</sup> pontificatus sui primo." (fol. 67 b.)

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At S<sup>t</sup>. James' the xxviij. Day of October an<sup>o</sup>. 1556.

"A Letter to the Bishoppe of Duresme of Thankes for his dilligence in settinge forth of the Proclamacons touchinge the adnullynge of the Rose Pence, and his addicōn to the same, assuringe him nothinge is intended touchinge the falle of any othere Coyne." (fol. 65 b.)

At Grenewiche the xv<sup>th</sup>. Day of February an<sup>o</sup> 1556.

“ Letteres to the Sherifes of the Countyes of Nottingham, Lincolne, Northampton, Cambridge, Huntynghdon, Essex, and Herteforde, to putt themselves in a redines to meete with an Ambassador presently sente to the Queenes Ma<sup>tie</sup>. from the Duke of Muscovia, at such tyme as he shall enter w<sup>thin</sup> his Charge, and to conducte him to the next Countye, and to see him well and honestelye entertayned in all places for his reasonable money so as he may have cause to reporte well of his entertaynemente.” (fol. 137.)

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At the Lorde Chauncelores Hows the ix Day of July an<sup>o</sup> 1557.

“ A Lre to John Trelawnye, Thomas Trefre, John Tredenick, and William Carnesewe the eldere, to take the Charge of the Mines discovered by Burchart Cranice, Almaine, in the Counties of Devon and Cornewale, according to the Minute in the Counsaile Chestre.

“ A Lre to S<sup>r</sup>. John Cheechester Knight and Robart Carye Esquire, to repaire to the fying house prepared for the said Mines, and to viewe and considere the state of the Workes, and what Ore is alredie gotten, and to delivere the same with all Toolles and Instrumentes provided and remaininge for the Mines, by Bill indented, to John Trelawnye and the otheres above named, accordinge to the Minute remaininge in the Counsaile Chestre.” (fol. 164 b.)

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At Richemonde the xxviiij Day of July an<sup>o</sup>. 1557.

“ A Lre to the Abbot of Westeminster to give order that Edmonde Vaughane presently remaining in the Sanctuarye who standeth to be charged with diveres felonyes and will hethereto confesse but one of them, he delivered over unto the Conestable of the Towere to be there further examyned of the said felonye, signefying unto the



said Abbot that the said Vaughane after his Examenacōn so taken shalbe restored againe to the Sanctuarye yf it shalbe his right so to be. Requiring him neverthesse to keepe the matter secrete to himselfe, so as neither the partyes maye knowe therof ne any other that might bringe it to his knowledge.

“ A Lre to the Conestable of the Towere to receave the said Edward Vaughan at the Lord Abbots handes for the purpose afforesaid.” (fol. 167.)

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At S<sup>t</sup>. James the v. Daye of September an<sup>o</sup> 1557.

“ A Lre to the Lorde Maiore of London to give order forthwith that some of his Officeres doe forethw<sup>th</sup> repaire to the Bores head w<sup>thout</sup> Algate, where the Lordes are enformed a lewde playe called ‘ A Sacke full of Newse ’ shalbe plaied this daye, the plaieres whereof he is willed to apprehende and to comitt to safe warde untill he shall heare further from hence, and to take their Playe-booke from them and to send the same hether.” (fol. 179 b.)

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At Westminster the vj. Daye of September an<sup>o</sup> 1557.

“ A Lre to the Lord Maiore of London willinge him to sett at libertie the Playeres by him apprehended by ordere from hence Yesterdaye, and to give them and all otheres playeres thoroughout the Cittie in comaundemente and charge not to playe any Playes but betweene the Feaste of all S<sup>a</sup>ints and Shroftide, and then only such [as] are seene and allowed by the Ordenarye.” (fol. 179 b.)

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At Saint James the xxiiij Day of Septemb<sup>r</sup> an<sup>o</sup> 1558.

“ A Lre to the Earle of Northumberlande of Thankes for his courageous and honorable behaving himselfe in the last exployte by him atcheived in the burninge of Holborne and other Townes in Scotlande, signefyed hither by the Earle of Westmerlande. His lordeshippe is also required to give thankes to such gentlemen as served well w<sup>th</sup> him in this Jurneye.” (fol. 303.)

XVII. *Observations upon some Sepulchral Monuments in Italy and France.* By T. KERRICH, M. A. F. S. A. Principal Librarian to the University of Cambridge.

Read 24th March, 1814.

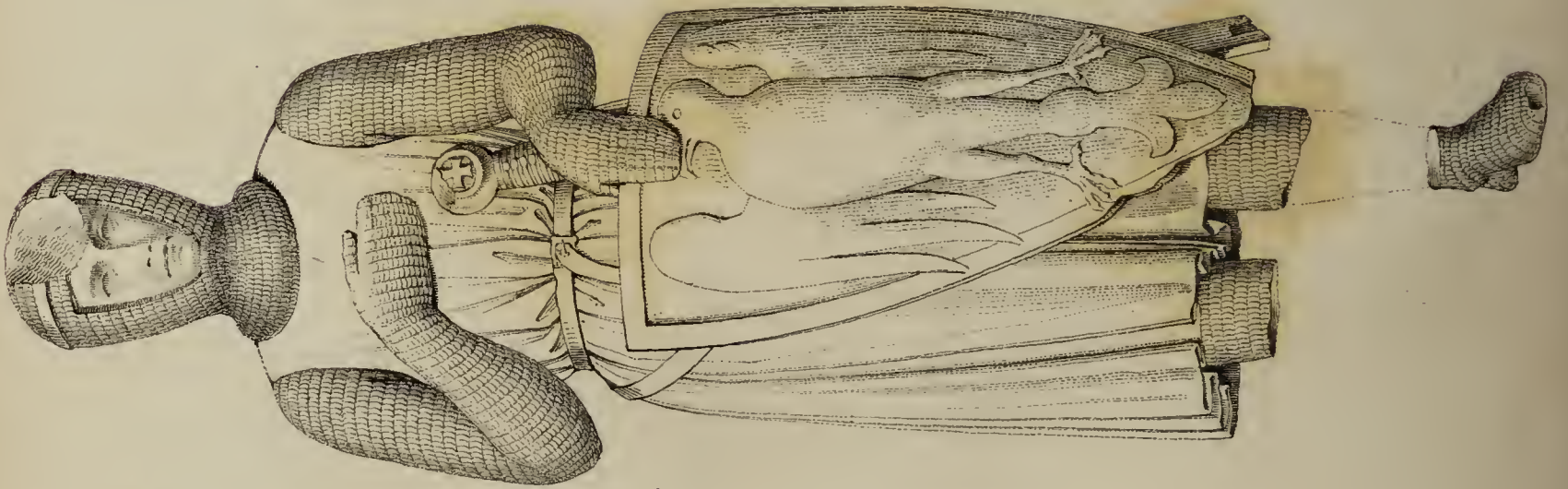
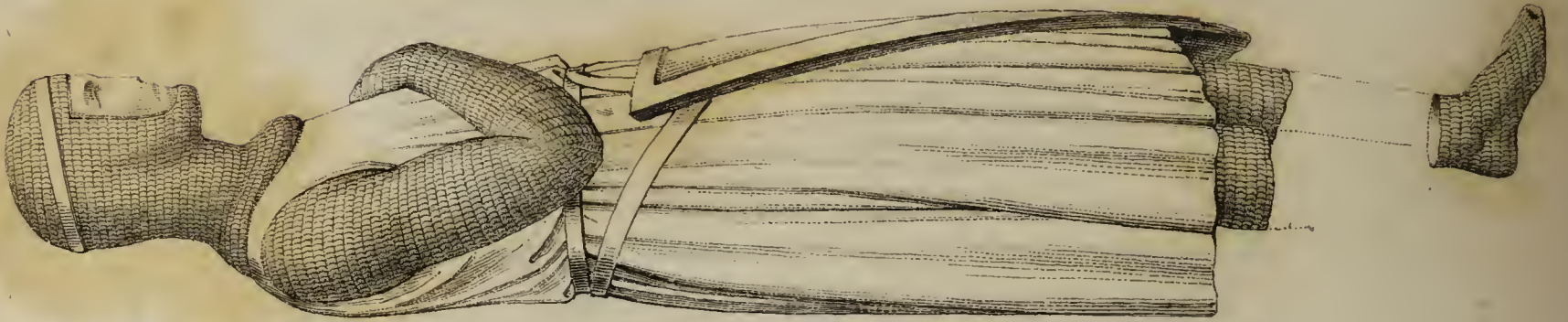
SEVERAL writers have endeavoured to trace the arts in Italy as far back as possible, and they have given us voluminous histories of their artists; but travellers in general attended little to what was produced there, either in painting or sculpture, till the time of Raphael and Michael Angelo, and the succeeding ages, whilst they flourished in their greatest vigour. The ancient pictures were considered as barbarous rude things, whose only merit was their antiquity, and the sculptures were entirely overlooked.

The admiration of strangers was universally engrossed by the treasures of antique statuary with which Italy abounds, and the comparatively feeble exertions of the moderns were not noticed.

Their works, notwithstanding, by no means deserved this neglect. Merely as the first dawnings of the arts in Europe, after the long darkness which had overspread it, they claimed some respect. As specimens of the taste and acquirements of the respective ages in which they were executed they are curious. They are the materials from which only a History of the Arts can be collected; and if the circumstances of the times in which the authors of them lived be taken into the account, many of them unquestionably must be esteemed astonishing efforts of genius: such as would do honour to more polished times, and are but rarely found even in the works of men who have all the advantages of science and learning. A History of the Arts themselves, unconnected with that of the professors, certainly is much wanted. I do not mean to enter upon it, but to point

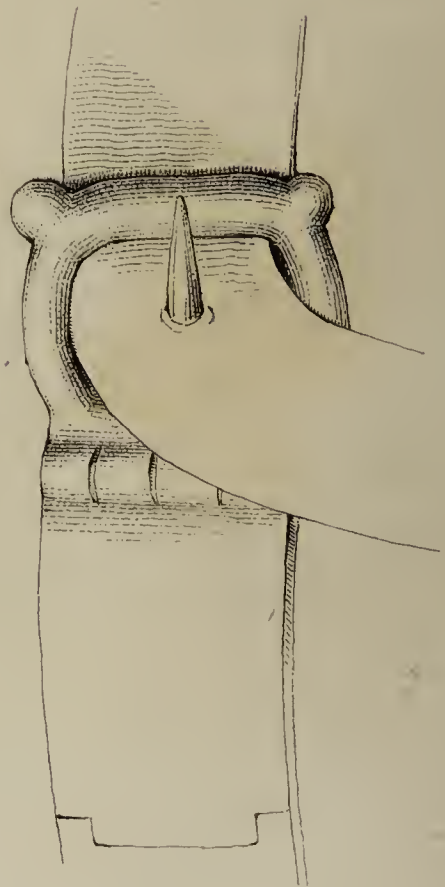
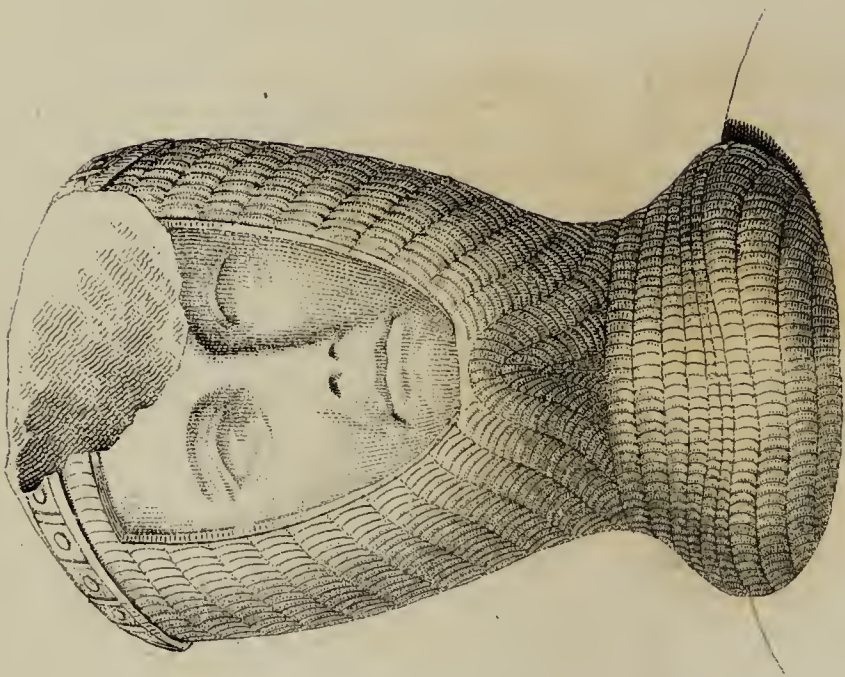
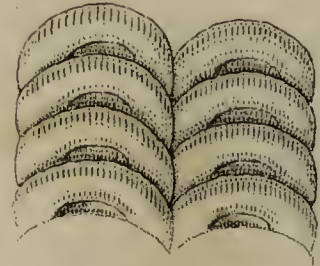
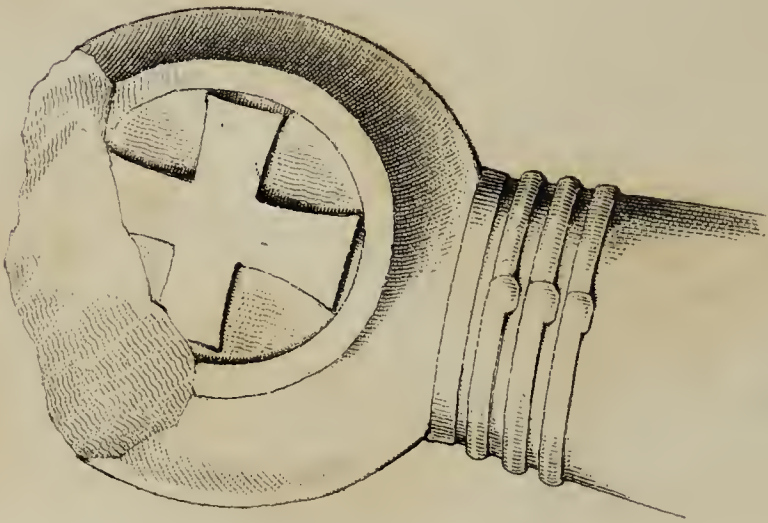
















out some early works of Sculpture still existing in Italy, which struck me as valuable, and which I believe have never been sufficiently described.

Three Sepulchral Monuments interested me particularly, which were made in remembrance of persons connected with England and with our history.

The Two first are those of Peter Earl of Richmond, uncle to Queen Eleanor, wife of King Henry III. who died in 1267 ; and Peter, Bishop of Hereford, who died in the following year : both in the collegiate church of Aquabella in Savoy, where the latter was born, and from which he took his name; which name has been most dismally mangled by our English writers.

That supposed to be of the Earl of Richmond is an altar tomb, with an effigy of marble lying upon it, not very different in attitude or habit from those of the same age in England, but perhaps in a rather better style of sculpture. His right-hand is laid upon his breast, and the other rested on the top of his shield ; and there are two angels sitting at his head, and a lion couchant at his feet. The figure was a good deal mutilated when I saw it, both the legs broken, and one of them lost. (Pl. IX. X.)

His armour is of mail only, without any mixture of plate ; and what is remarkable, the rings are all placed the same way, thus, , not in this manner , as they commonly are represented. The mail which covers his head and neck lies over the surcoat, and he has a sort of diadem or plain fillet on his head, set with jewels, but no helmet. The mail covers his hands, and is not divided for the four fingers. His legs and feet are also covered with mail. The surcoat reaches below the knee, and is a little open before at the bottom. There is no belt over his shoulder, and the sword-belt is unusually narrow, scarcely broader than his girdle. The shield large, but remarkably thin, with his arms, an eagle upon it, in relievo.<sup>a</sup> The

<sup>a</sup> I am aware it may be objected that these are the original arms of Savoy *only*, and that our heralds always give him, in addition to them, those of Saxony in an escutcheon of pre-

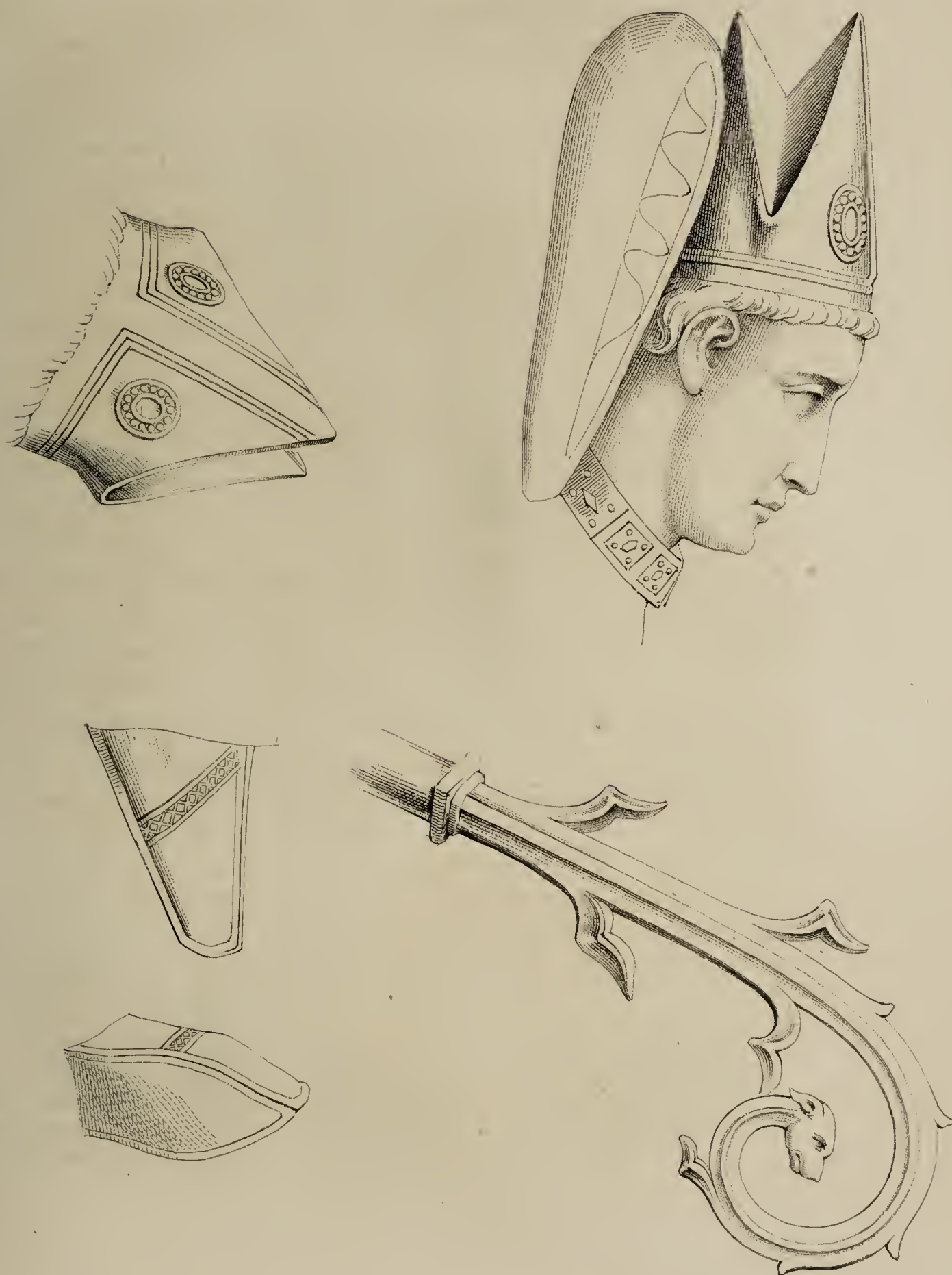
inscription is carved in a border round the edge of the stone upon which the figure lies, but it was so much defaced, that I could make out but very little of it.

The people of the place seemed to know very well who he was, but called him an Englishman, and insisted upon it that he was related to the bishop buried under the other tomb. Our accounts of him seem to be very slight: we know that he built the palace in London called from him the Savoy, and that he was much hated here as one of the foreigners attached to the queen: but I do not find in what year he left this country. In all probability it was upon his succeeding to the earldom of Savoy, upon the death of his nephew Bonifaccio in 1250; for we find him immediately after besieging and taking Turin, before which city his nephew had been made a prisoner by the Marquis of Monferrato.

The monument of the Bishop of Hereford is much more important. It consists of a cast statue of bronze laid upon a kind of table with six legs of the same metal, like the monument of the Emperor Charles the Bald at St. Denis, and appeared to me to be a work of considerable intrinsic merit, and not without great beauty, although in a rather dry hard style, such as, if the figure were antique, would be dignified with the title of severe. The whole is executed with the utmost delicacy, and the crosier I thought uncommonly elegant. (Pl. XI.) The inscription was quite perfect, but had many con-

tence. That is, they assign him what are called the ancient arms of Savoy, but we do not find upon what authority. The Earls of Savoy did, it is certain, assume and bear the arms of Saxony in that manner, over their own, till the year 1409, to mark their being descended from that House; but it does not seem to be known *when* they first did this. One can hardly suppose it could be so early as the 13th century, for it does not appear that escutcheons of pretence were known in heraldry till long afterwards: and unless some well-authenticated instances of such escutcheons, actually used before the year 1268, could be pointed out, we may fairly conclude these arms were attributed to Peter de Savoy, Earl of Richmond, at hazard, merely as being those of his family in later times. The arms borne by their descendants, it is well known, were ascribed, very commonly, to the founders of religious houses, and others of the ancient nobility, who lived before heraldry was invented, and in fact never had any coat-armour at all.









tractions in it, which however did not make it at all difficult to read, and what is most extraordinary, the name of the artist is recorded.

“ Hic jacet venerabilis Pater Dominus Petrus Here-  
“ fordensis quondam Episcopus, Fundator, Structor, &  
“ Dotator hujus Ecclesiæ. Qui obiit quinto kalendas  
“ Decembris anno Domini M.CC.LXVIII. Hoc opus  
“ fecit Magist. Henricus de Colonia. Anima hujus re-  
“ quiescat in pace. Amen. †.”

It is much to be wished that some further account of this artist could be recovered. I should presume the Colonia here meant may probably be Colonia Allobrogum, either Geneva, or Colognè on the Rhone, (upon the other side) about five leagues below it.

Bishop Godwin mentions this monument, and says it appears from the inscription that the heart of Peter de Aqua-bella was sent to be buried in this church, which he had founded, but that his body lies in his cathedral at Hereford.<sup>b</sup> There must be some mistake, for the inscription speaks of no such thing.

The third is a monument of Bernabo Visconti at Milan, whose family was connected with that of England by the marriage of his niece Violante with Lionel third son of our King Edward the Third.<sup>c</sup>

The family of Visconti, though now nearly forgotten in the world, once stood foremost, and rose to a greater height of power and authority than any other in Italy. I believe they are not much noticed in history till the latter part of the thirteenth century, when the Archbishop Otho Visconti triumphed over the rival family of the

<sup>b</sup> See the Latin edition by Dr. Richardson, p. 486.

<sup>c</sup> There was also a treaty for a marriage between Lucia, one of his own daughters, and Edmund fifth son of Edward III. according to the Italian historians, but it certainly did not succeed; and his natural daughter Donnina was married to our famous English soldier Sir John Hawkwood

Torriani, and became Lord of Milan. He was followed by a long succession of able princes steadily bent on aggrandizing their family and extending their dominions; there is reason to fear, without being very scrupulous as to the means they were to use. By conquest, by purchase, by fomenting quarrels, and affording protection to all the smaller states of Lombardy, they became at length possessed of nearly the whole country from Turin to the gulf of Venice. They had besides extended their power over Lucca, Pisa, Siena, Perugia, Assisi, and other cities of Tuscany; and almost the whole of Liguria had submitted to them, together with a considerable part of Romania; though they never obtained any permanent possession of either Genoa or Bologna. They were always at the head of the Ghibeline party, became imperial vicars in Lombardy and Liguria, and lastly, were dignified with the title of Dukes of Milan; and one of them aspired to be king of Italy.

Such was the origin of the great dukedom of Milan, and such the family of Visconti, who formed and governed it under a series of twelve princes, who ranked with the sovereigns of Europe, and were allied by marriages to the greatest kings: their court was the seat of luxury and elegance, and their opulence, splendour, and magnificence, were the admiration of foreigners. They were expensive and munificent; and some buildings and institutions founded by them, which still exist, bear ample testimony to their greatness: and we may add, they were amongst the very first of all the princes in Europe who saw the advantage of standing armies, and who had constantly a considerable body of men regularly disciplined and embodied.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Gio. Villani tells us that in 1346, when he was writing his Chronicle, Luchino Visconti, then Lord of Milan, had always more than three thousand horse in constant pay, and sometimes four thousand, or five thousand, or more, which no king in Christendom at that time had.

The standing army of Charles VII., just a hundred years after, which Dr. Robertson calls the first that was established in Europe, amounted, according to his account, to no more than nine thousand cavalry and sixteen thousand infantry: and Monstrelet, who speaks from his



Of these princes, Bernabo is reckoned the ninth, and he was one of the first imperial Vicars. The account given of him by historians is by no means favourable to his character: they represent him as brave, but tyrannical and turbulent, oppressive and merciless to his own subjects, engaged continually in cruel and unjust wars, and a terror to all the States around him. But notwithstanding these bad qualities imputed to him, he lived for many years in great harmony with his elder brother Galiazzo II<sup>do</sup>.; and they governed Milan together, as it appears, very prosperously. But upon his death, in 1373, the state of affairs was totally changed: jealousies and mistrust arose between Bernabo and his nephew, the famous Giovanni Galiazzo, afterward the first Duke of Milan. He was a man of a very different character: timid, reserved, and artful, he overreached his uncle, took him by surprise, and threw him into prison in the castle of Trezzo, where, after a confinement of about seven months, he was poisoned, in August 1385.

Any authentic portrait of a man so distinguished in history must be interesting, and the monument in question furnishes a complete one. It is in the ancient church of St. Giovanni in Conca at Milan, near which stood the palace of the Visconti, and consists of an equestrian statue of him in white marble, large as life, standing upon a sarcophagus, supported by twelve short pillars.<sup>e</sup> (See Pl. XII. fig. 1. 2.) The sides of the sarcophagus are richly ornamented with figures of Christ upon the cross, the Virgin, St. John, St. George, St. Christopher, St. Catherine, and other saints, in relievo; and upon it, on one side of the horse, is a statue of justice, and on the other a figure with a lion, perhaps intended for Fortitude. The chief reason for placing them there was probably to conceal a pillar which the artist was obliged to leave under the belly of the horse, to support the weight of his body, and that of the man upon him; to which end also we may suppose it was that he left the horse's legs so enormously thick. (Pl. XII. fig. 2.)

own knowledge, makes it much less: he says, that after Charles had expelled the English from France, he always kept on foot fifteen hundred lances, and from five to six thousand archers.

<sup>e</sup> See Note 1. (A.) p. 194.

But besides the importance of the person represented, this monument is extremely valuable, as it shews the state of the arts at Milan, where their history has been less inquired into than in almost any other part of Italy; which is the more to be regretted, because it is well known that they were patronized by the Visconti. One is therefore rejoiced to meet with such a work as this, of so remote a period, and the date of which is so well ascertained; for there seems to be no doubt but that it was made for Bernabo in his life-time, in all probability upon the death of his wife Beatrice della Scala, who, they say, was buried in it.<sup>c</sup> We may remark too, that it is wonderfully well preserved, considering its age.

As to the statue itself, its intrinsic merit, and the style of sculpture, though we cannot point it out as an object of admiration, or pretend that the Arts, when it was produced, appear to have made any great advances towards perfection, we may justly praise the plain unadulterated good sense that appears in it. Though it may be deficient, there is nothing in it deserving of censure: no bad taste, no affectation to disgust us. Nothing can be more simple than this statue: the attitude is quiet, but it struck me that it is not without great dignity. There is no bustle, no agitation, but neither is it lifeless. Both the horse and his rider look as if they could move, were there any real occasion. Bernabo may be considered here as at the head of his army, but not in the heat of battle. His right-arm is rested on his truncheon, and he is evidently attentive to something before him. It must, however, be confessed, that the statue is stiff; and possibly what we are inclined to consider as a sort of quiet dignity in the old sculptures of these times, may frequently have arisen from want of education in the artists. They never had the advantage of studying in Academies, and so perhaps had not sufficient powers to run into the violence and extravagance which disgrace the works of some of the more modern admired sculptors. This statue is an excel-

<sup>c</sup> See Torre's *Ritratto di Milano*, and the *Guida di Milano*, by the Abate Dianzoni.



lent contrast to the two by Moca of Alexander Farnese and his son, in the neighbouring city of Placentia.

But whatever may be its defects or beauties, and to whatever cause they are to be ascribed, this statue certainly has one excellence which would entitle it to great attention were its intrinsic merit far less than it really is. I mean the satisfactory information it gives us concerning the costumi of the time; in which respect I have never met with any thing at all to be compared to it.<sup>f</sup> The habit, armour, accoutrements of the horse, and style of ornaments then in use in Italy, are all faithfully detailed with the most scrupulous minuteness. No part of it is neglected, but it is finished all over with the same care and precision: the side next the wall, quite as much as that towards the nave of the church. Indeed, I should suppose the arch, under which the monument is placed, was originally open into the north aisle, but was closed up when that aisle was destroyed.

To these we may add one monument in France, as I have etched a small print of the figure upon it, and the person it represents was in some measure connected with England. It is that of Lewis, Earl of Evreux, maternal uncle to Edward the Third, which was in the Dominican's church at Paris. (Pl. XVI.) I am told it still exists, but in a mutilated state: when I made my drawing it was perfect, and had, I thought, so much merit, and was so curious, that it ought to be preserved.

And here it may be worthy of remark, that till the late destruction of every thing valuable in that country, France was exceedingly rich in early works of sculpture; which were in general so very good, quite from the age of St. Lewis, or even before that time, that they did not yield the smallest degree of superiority to those in Italy of the same dates. The history of the arts in France is totally unknown, so that we are entirely ignorant who the artists were that made them: we can hardly suppose France was indebted for them all to foreigners; and if they were the work of native Frenchmen, we may justly entertain great doubts whether Italy did really take the lead in the arts

<sup>f</sup> See Note 2 (B) p. 195.

so soon as has been generally believed. We know the Italians had antique relievos, and probably some statues, from which they might have derived instruction, but they do not appear to have been sensible of this advantage, or to have studied them, any more than they did the numerous examples of Greek and Roman architecture with which they were surrounded, till about the beginning of the fifteenth century.

#### NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Note 1. (A) p. 191. It had long been customary in Italy to raise the tombs of eminent persons upon pillars: that of the great Matteo Visconti, in the church of St. Eustorgio in the same city, is so placed, and is mounted very high on six pillars which stand upon the backs of three lions. (See Pl. xv. fig. 2.)

And the Italians appear to have been always fond of representing their great men, and military worthies particularly, on horseback, both on their sepulchral monuments, and in public statues erected to their memories, as well as in paintings; and it would not be difficult to point out a continued series of such equestrian figures, from what is called the Revival of the Arts in Italy, quite down to modern times. Those that have come to my knowledge are the following:

Oldrano di Tresseno: a statue in a niche, in the Piazza Mercanti at Milan, placed there in the year 1233. This statue is extremely curious, and it is a pity we have no print of it. I made only very slight sketches.

Gulielmus Balnis, who died in 1289: a relievo on his monument in the cloister of the Annunziata Convent at Florence.

Guido Ricci da Fogliano: a painting in fresco, by Simone Memmi, in the Palazzo Publico at Siena, dated 1328. He and his horse are covered all over with his arms fully blazoned.

Bernabo Visconti, who died in 1385: The statue here described.

Sir John Hawkwood, who died in 1393; and Nicolo da Tolentino, who died in 1434: these are two paintings in the Cathedral at Florence, upon the wall of the north aisle, the one by Paolo Uccello, the other by Andrea dal Castagno; and they represent monuments of these two generals in all respects like this of Bernabo Visconti, each consisting of an equestrian statue standing upon a sarcophagus: the only thing in which they differ from it is, that in these the sarcophagus is supported by a sort of modillions instead of pillars.

The monument of Giovanni Galiazzo Visconti, first Duke of Milan, in the church of the Chartreuse of Pavia, we are told, was a magnificent work of the same kind, with his statue on horseback in marble, and the history of his great actions represented in basso-relievos. But it has been long destroyed, and a more modern one erected in its place, in part from the fragments of the former. He died in 1402.



Erasmus da Narni, detto Il Gattamelata: a bronze statue by Donatello, in the Piazza di S. Antonio, at Padua. He died in 1441.

Antonio Rido, of Padua, general to Pope Eugenius IV: a basso-relievo upon his monument in the church of S. Francesca Romana at Rome. He died in 1455.

Bartolemeo Coglione da Bergamo: the famous equestrian statue of bronze at Venice, cast by Andrea Verrocchio in 1488. He died, 1475.

Roberto Malatesta: a basso relievo taken from his tomb in the old church of St. Peter's at Rome, the work of Paolo Romano, and erected at the expense of Pope Sixtus IV. It is now fixed up very high in the front of the Villa Borghese. He died 1483.

Lodovico Sforza certainly employed Antonio Pollaiolo to make an equestrian statue of his father Francis Sforza, the first Duke of Milan of that family; for Vasari tells us the model was finished and remained in Pollaiolo's house at his death in 1498, and that he himself had two different designs for it by him, in his collection of drawings, but I do not find that it was ever executed.

Giovani Bentivoglio: a statue less than life, painted and gilt, in the chapel of his family at the east end of the north aisle of the church of S. Giacomo Maggiore at Bologna. He died in 1508.

The bronze statues of Cosmo de Medici, and his son Ferdinand by Giovanni di Bologna at Florence; and those of Alexander and Ranuccio Farnese at Placentia, by his scholar Moca, which have been mentioned, are well known, and soon after the time of these artists Equestrian Statues became common in every country of Europe.

Note 2 (B) p. 193. In this view I thought it so extremely curious, that I wrote down the following description when upon the spot, and made a good many drawings of different parts of the statue. (See Pl. xiii. xiv. and xv. fig. 1.)

His hair is very short, and his beard forked. He has on his head a diadem, or rather thick ring of gold. His armour is a mixture of mail and plate. The cuirasse very prominent and round before, but without any crista down the middle. Over it is a short surcoat without sleeves, which sets close to the body, and does not reach quite to the saddle, and I could not discover any opening in it. Between the shoulder-blades is a strap, such as I have never seen in any other figure, which comes through the upper part of the surcoat, and is fastened to a large buckle just below. There is a light plate upon each shoulder, but the arms from them to the elbow are only covered with mail, which appears again below the surcoat, and above it, round the neck. There is plate-armour again on the elbow and cubit, and his gantlets are of the same. The cuisses are remarkable: they consist of one broad plate in front, and at least six narrow longitudinal pieces which cover the outer and back part of the thigh. He has genouillers, greaves, and sollerets (or armour for the feet), which seem to be separate from them. The spurs were of metal, I think copper, and gilt, but there is little of them remaining. The girdle round his hips is much ornamented, and the buckle not before, as we commonly find it, but placed very far back on the left side behind the sword, which hangs down from it by a lace, in the usual way, as does the dagger on the right side; the hilt of

each is broken off. The saddle is exceedingly high, and of a singular form, particularly the back of it, and the bow very large and round.

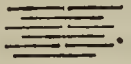
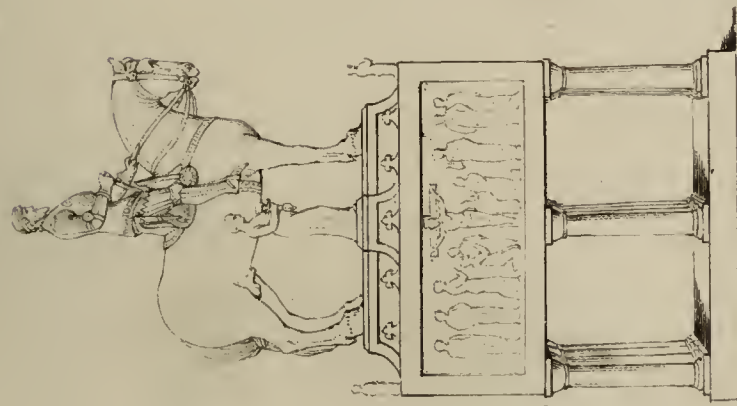
The whole statue was rich with paint and gilding, and enough of both is still left to determine the whole. The hair and beard were dark, and the ring upon his head gilt. All the armour, both mail and plate, black; as were also the girdle, scabbards of both sword and dagger, saddle, bridle, and all the trappings of the horse; but the mail had a border of gold rings scalloped (Pl. XIV.), and there were inscriptions in gold letters running round the edge of each plate of the elbows and knees, and the tops of the gantlets; and in stripes down the outside of the vambrace, and greaves, and the sollerets appear to have had more gilding in them. There was also a black border with gold letters round the upper edge of the surcoat, and part of the openings for his arms. The head-stall and reins of the bridle, and strap round the horse's breast, were all covered with the same kind of inscriptions, and the bow of the saddle had them in a double row. The housings seem to have been very rich, but most of the paint and gilding is gone. The bit of the bridle, stirrups, buckles, and in general all the ornaments, were gilt. The arms of Visconti, a serpent with a child in its mouth, are on the surcoat upon his breast, and again behind, not fully blazoned, but merely what the heralds call adumbrated, with lines cut into the white marble, and gilt. The outline is nowhere filled up, except by a stripe of gilding along the middle of the serpent, and some red paint upon its teeth, and the breasts of the child. The field is ornamented with elegant diapering of gold lines. These arms are repeated, in relief, upon each of the round plates on the outside of the elbow. His crest, the upper part of the same serpent with a child in its mouth, coming out of an egg, is in relief upon the back of the saddle. The horse is covered all over with gilt lines, thus . His tail long, and tied in a knot, as is also the fore-top, but the rest of the mane lies very smooth, upon the near side, and is of its natural length.

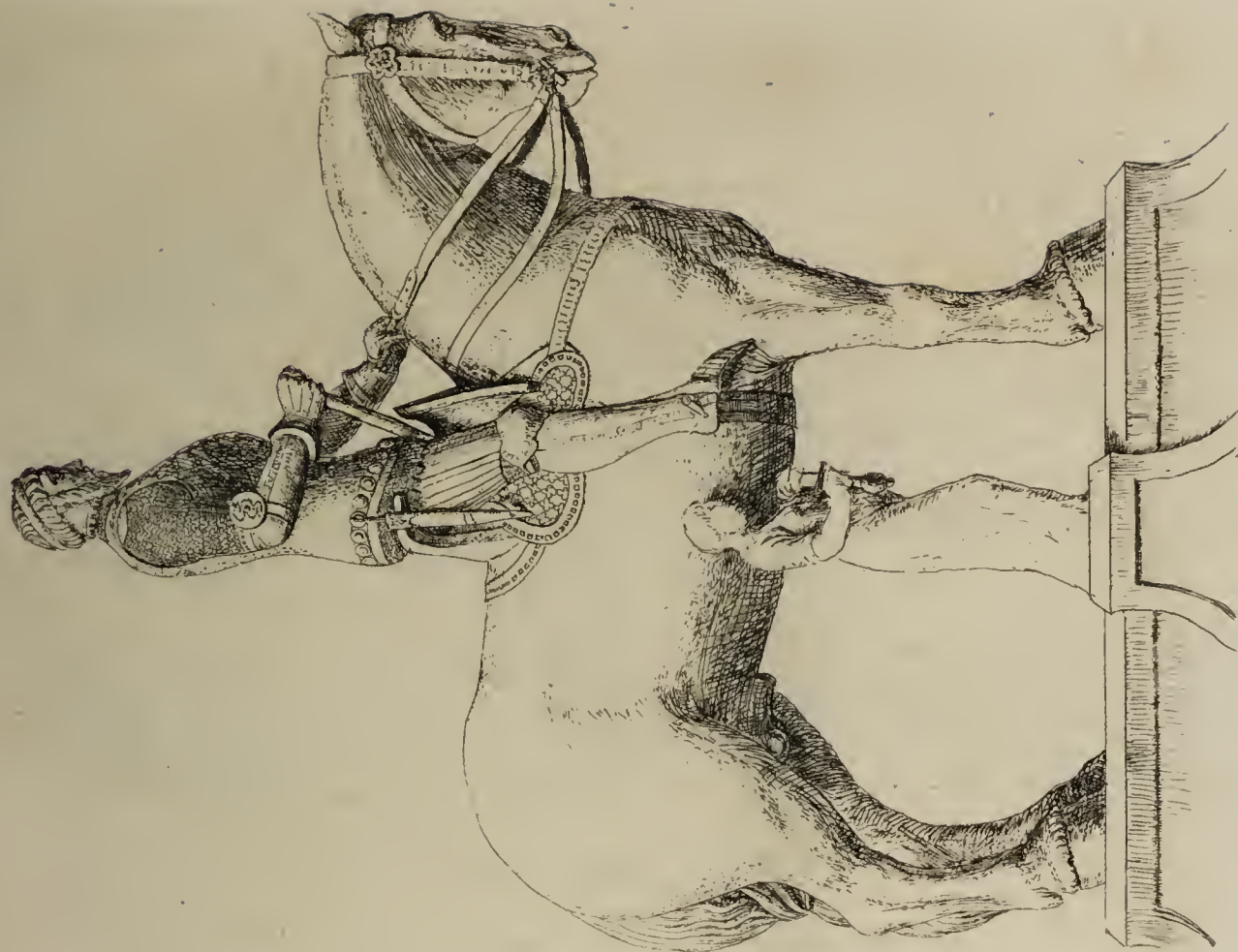


Fig. 1.



Monument of Bernabo Visconti.

Fig. 2.



K

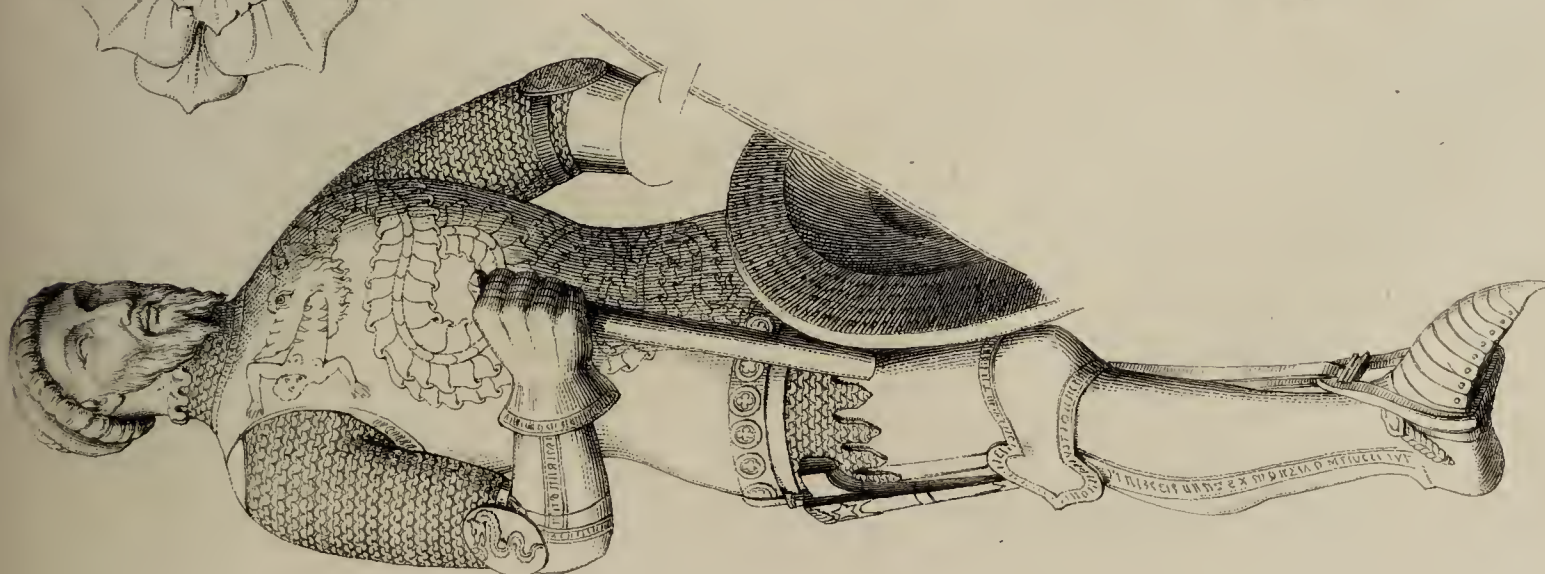
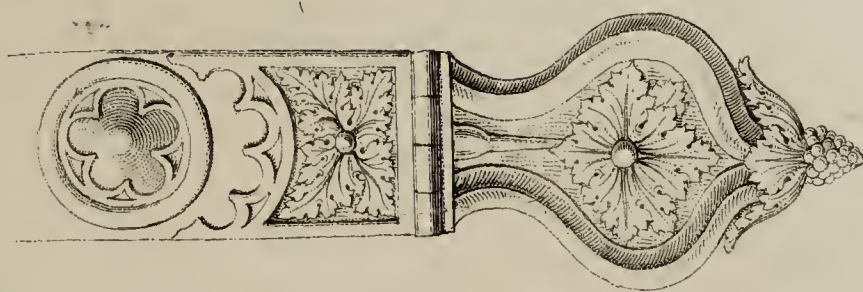
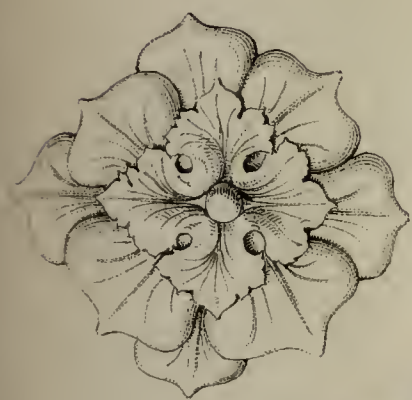
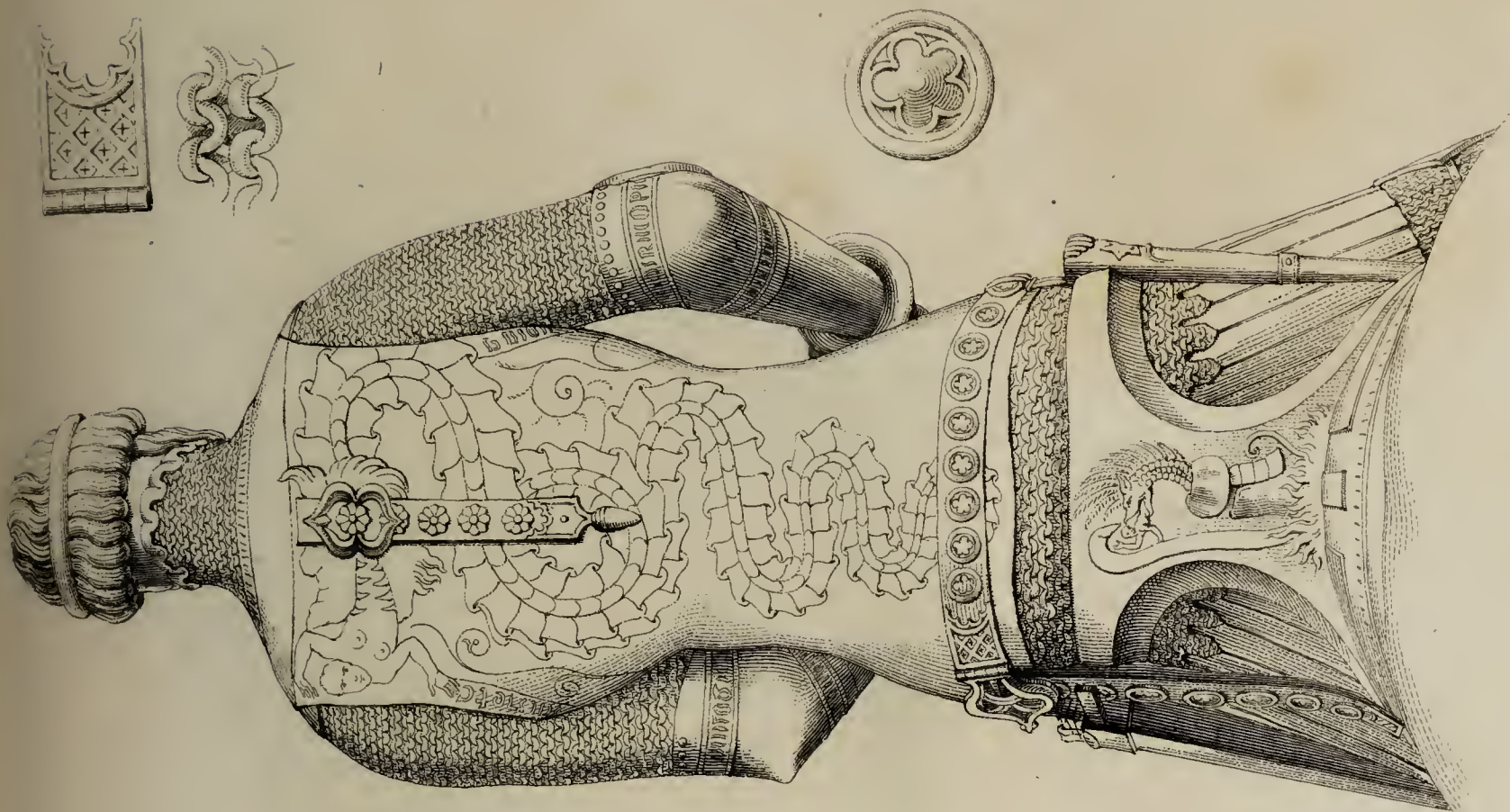
BERNABO VISCONTI.

1783

Published by the Society of Antiquaries, at London, January 1. 1784.







*Details of the Monument of Bernabò Visconti.*





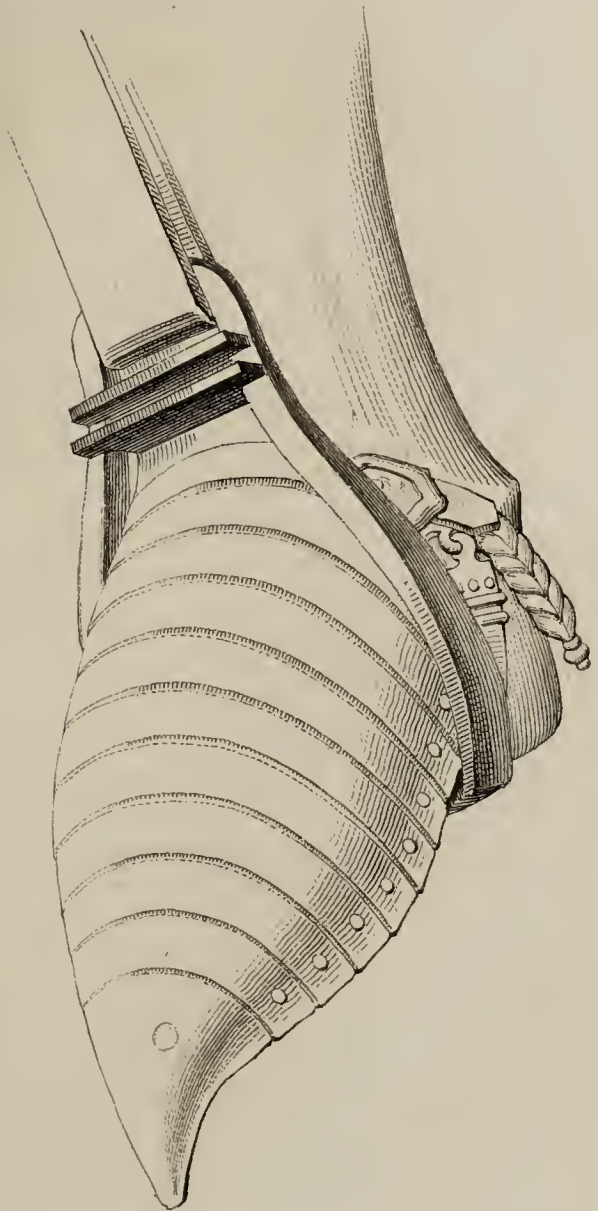
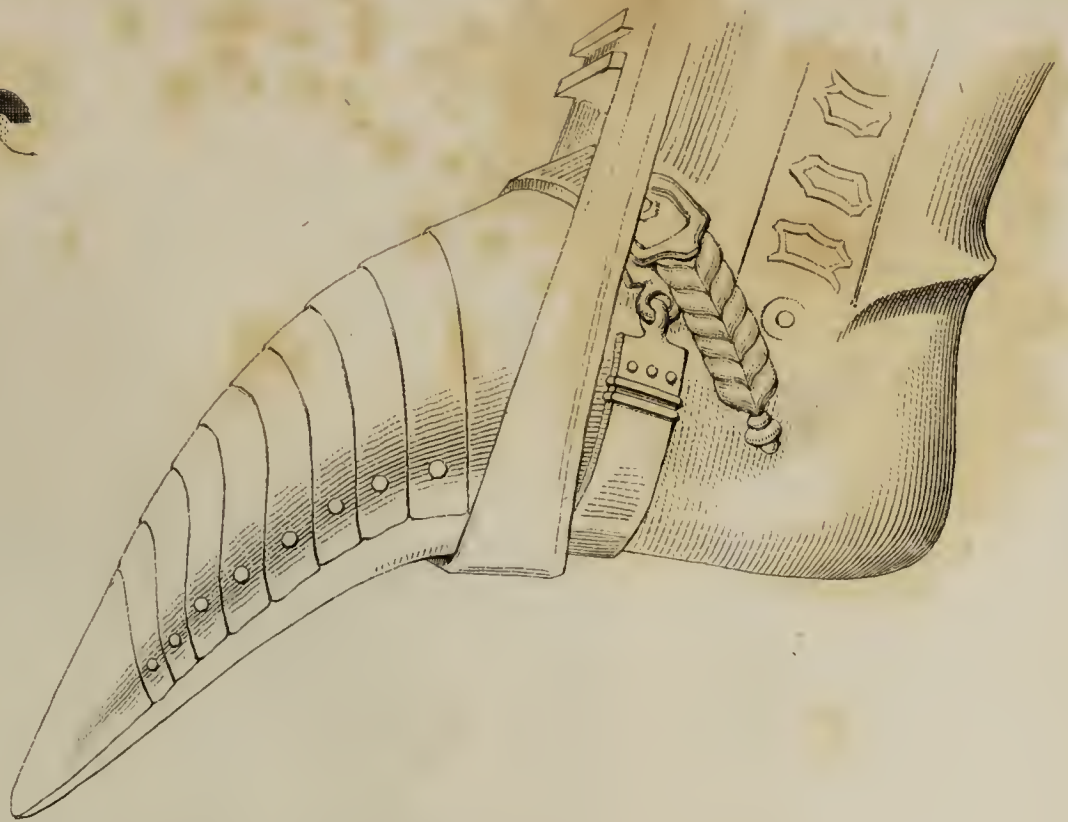
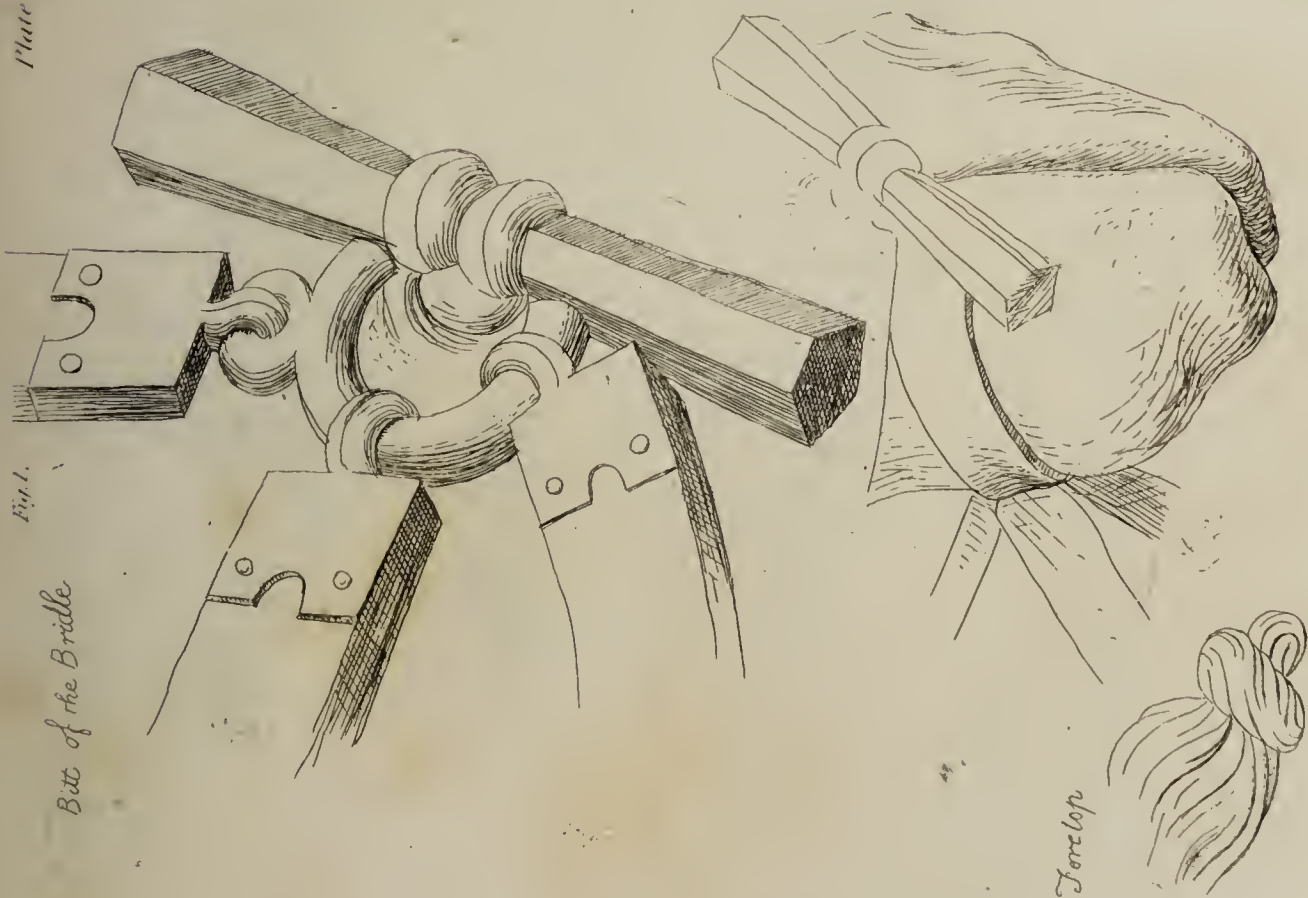






Fig. 1.

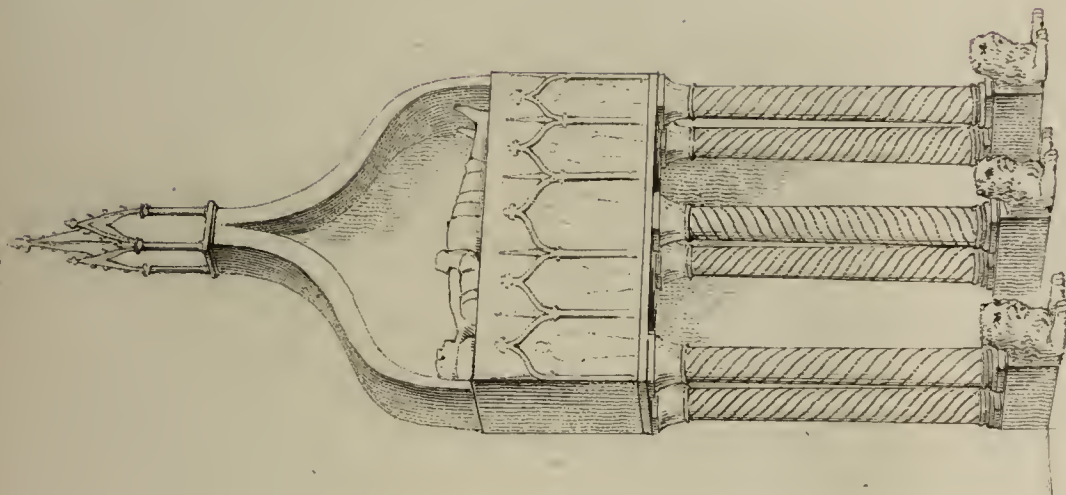
Bits of the Bridle



Forelop

R Bernabo Visconti at Milan

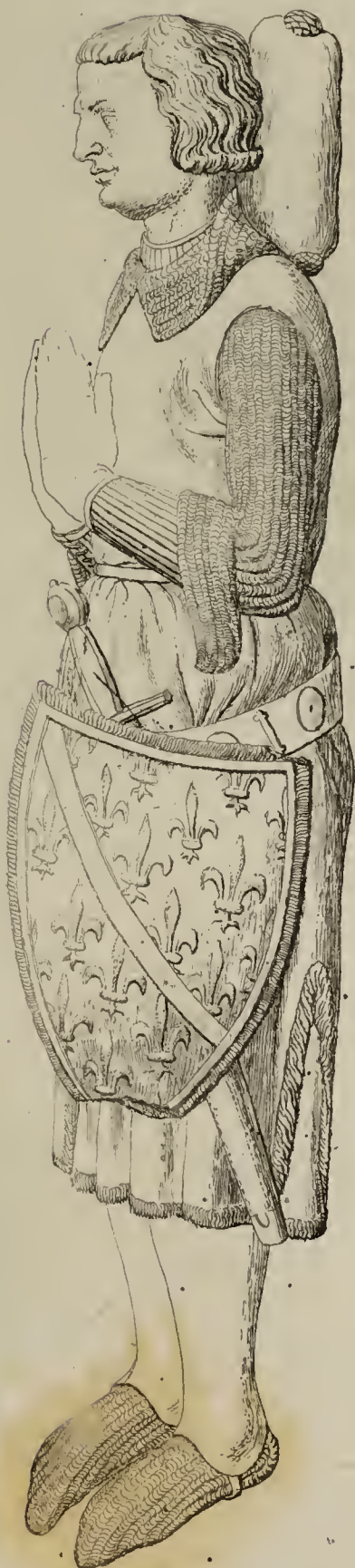
Fig. 2.



Monument of Matteo Visconti in the Church of S. Eustorgio at Milan.







K  
1785.

Ci gise Louis de France Comte d'Evreux fils du Roy de France, et frere du Roy Philippe le Bel, qui trespassa l'an de grace mil trois cens lxix,  
le xxix jour de May.

Louis Earl of Evreux, brother of Philip the fair king of France, who died May 19<sup>th</sup> 1319.  
From his Monument in the Dominican Church at Paris.





XVIII. *Copy of an Entry on the Clause Roll 31 Hen. VI. relating to the Bell-Savage Inn. Communicated by SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. V.P. F.R.S. in a Letter to NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. Secretary.*

Read 16th Feb. 1815.

DEAR SIR,

King's Bench Walks, Temple,  
15th Feb. 1815.

THE enclosed copy of a Deed, enrolled on the Clause roll of the 31st year of K. Henry VI., will, I flatter myself, be in some degree interesting to the Society of Antiquaries, as it serves to ascertain the true description of one of the oldest Inns in London,<sup>a</sup> the Bell-Savage on Ludgate Hill, in the parish of St. Bride Fleet Street; which has for more than a century, from the time its name was noticed by Addison in the Spectator,<sup>b</sup> occasioned a great variety of conjectures. It appears from this record, that they have all been unfounded, as the Inn took the adjunct to its name, from the circumstance of its having belonged to, or been kept by a person of the name of Savage. The Sign appears to have been a bell hung within a hoop. Many instances of the same kind occur in the ancient descriptions of inns. In the Clause Roll, 43d of Edward III. we find the George on the Hoop; in the 26th of Hen. VI. the Hart on the Hoop; in the 30th of the same king, the Swan and the Cock and Hen on the Hoop; with many others.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your's,

SAMUEL LYSONS.

TO NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq.  
Secretary.

<sup>a</sup> The Bolt in Ton appears also from an entry on the Patent Roll 21 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 24, to have been an inn at that time. In a licence of alienation to the Friars Carmelites of London of certain premises in the parish of St. Dunstan, Fleet Street, "*Hospicium vocatum le Boltenton*" is mentioned as a boundary.

<sup>b</sup> No. 28.

## D Script irrot Frenssh.

“Omnib; Xpi fidelib' ad quos p'sens Scriptum pven'it Joñes Frenssh filius primogenitus Joñis Frenssh Gentilman, quondam civis & auri-fabri, London' salutem in domino. Sciatis me dedisse, concessisse, & hoc p'senti scripto meo confirmasse Johanne Frenssh vidue, matri mee, totum teñ sive hospiciū cum suis ptin' vocat' *Savagesynne*, alias vocat' *le Belle on the hope*, in parochia Sçe Brigide in Fletestrete London' hend' & tenend' totum p'dcm ten' sive hospiciū cum suis ptin' p'fat' Johanne ad t'minū vite sue absq; impetiçoe vasti. In cujus rei testimoniū huic p'senti scripto meo sigillum meum apposui. Hijs Testib; Witto Foster, Thoma Trylle, Joñe Catour, Thoma Otehill, Witto Heyford, Joñe Hobbes, & alijs. Dat. London' quinto die mensis Februarij anno regni Regis Henrici sexti post Conquestum Angl' tricesimo primo.”

## TRANSLATION.

To all true Christian people to whom this present writing shall come: John Frensh, eldest son of Jolin Frensh, gentleman, late citizen and goldsmith of London, sends greeting in our Lord. Know ye that I have given, granted, and by this my present writing confirmed to Joan Frensh, widow, my mother, all that Tenement or Inn, with its appurtenances, called *Savage's Inn*, otherwise called *the Bell on the Hoop*, in the parish of St. Bridget in Fleet Street, London: to have and to hold all the aforesaid Tenement or Inn, with its appurtenances, to the said Joan for term of her life, without impeachment of waste. In witness whereof to this present writing I have set my seal, these being witnesses, William Foster, Thomas Trylle, John Catour, Thomas Otehill, William Heyford, John Hobbes, and others. Dated at London the fifth day of the month of February, in the 31st year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth after the Conquest.



XIX. *Account of some Saxon Antiquities found near Lancaster.* By TAYLOR COMBE, Esq. F.R.S. Director. In a Letter to the EARL OF ABERDEEN, K. T. President.

Read 6th April, 1815.

MY LORD,

British Museum,  
4 April, 1815.

THE silver Cup (Pl. XVII. fig. 1, 2). and Torques (Pl. XVIII. fig. 1, 2), which, through the kindness of Mr. Walker, were exhibited to the Society at their last meeting, were found on the 12th of February, 1815, at Halton Moor, about five miles from Lancaster, in some newly inclosed land; and were afterwards sold to a silversmith, who resides in that city. When the cup was found, it contained 860 silver pennies, and six pieces of stamped gold; it also contained the Torques, the diameter of which must have been very considerably reduced, by pressure of the two ends, before it could be admitted within the cup.

Four hundred of the silver pennies and two pieces of the stamped gold have been sent to London; the rest were dispersed in the neighbourhood of Lancaster. Of the four hundred pennies, twenty-one appear to be Danish, and three hundred and seventy-nine are of Canute.

The Danish coins are of such rude workmanship that it is scarcely possible to decipher a single letter on them. Two of these coins are represented on the very accurate drawing which Mr. Smirke has made for the use of the Society, which will supersede the necessity of any detailed explanation of them. (Pl. XVII. fig. 4, 5.) We are unable to determine the exact time at which they were struck, though it was probably a short period before the reign of Canute.

The coins of Canute are all of the same type. (Pl. XVII. fig. 6.) On the obverse they represent the head of the king with a bonnet or helmet of a conical form, and with a sceptre. On the reverse is a kind

of cross contained within the inner circle, and having annulets in the four angles. Of these coins there were struck at

Exeter - - - - -	1	London - - - - -	4
Grantham - - - - -	1	Maldon - - - - -	1
Leicester - - - - -	1	York - - - - -	366
Lincoln - - - - -	4	Winchester - - - - -	1

The whole number offers eighty-three varieties, including not only the names of towns and mint-masters, but likewise the different modes in which the names are spelt. A statement of these varieties is subjoined at the end of this short Memoir.

The gold pieces are in thin laminæ, struck on one side, and incuse on the other; they are both precisely alike, representing a human head in the rudest style of workmanship. (Pl. XVII. fig. 3.) Many pieces of gold much resembling them have been found in Denmark, but the numismatic writers of that country are not determined in their opinion as to the fact of their being coins or not. They bear a strong similarity to the coins called *Nummi bracteati*; but as, whilst their preservation is equally good, they differ with regard to weight (one weighing  $19\frac{3}{16}$  grains, and the other  $16\frac{2}{16}$  grains); we are therefore rather inclined to believe that they have not been intended for money, which opinion we are the more inclined to adopt, from the circumstance of their having two holes drilled through them, as if for the purpose of attaching them, as ornaments, to some other body. If we admit the latter supposition, these pieces of gold must have been preserved in the cup as bullion.

The cup itself weighs 10 ounces 1 dwt. 6 grains; the metal is a mixture of silver and copper, in the proportion of about three parts of silver to one of copper. It appears to have been originally gilt, some of the gold still remaining, which is of a remarkably pale colour. The form of the cup is by no means beautiful, but the ornaments which are engraved on it have a certain degree of elegance, and have probably been copied from some piece of Roman pottery. The ornaments consist of four circular compartments, separated from each other by



branches, which terminate in the heads of animals, in the arabesque style. In the compartments are a panther and a butting bull alternately. These ornaments are included within two handsome borders, which encircle the cup in parallel lines.

The torques is of good silver, and weighs 6 ounces 6 dwts. 6 grains. It consists of a number of silver wires curiously twisted, and terminates in two solid pieces of the same metal which hook together in the manner represented in the engraving.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

T. COMBE.

*Saxon Coins of Canute, found near Lancaster.*

BONNET TYPE.

<i>Exeter.</i>		<i>York.</i>	
PVLSTAN . ON . ECXEC . . . . .	1	ÆDELPINE . M <sup>—</sup> O . EO . . . . .	8
		_____ . EOF . . . . .	7
<i>Grantham.</i>		_____ . EOFR . . . . .	1
LRIM . ON . LRANTE . . . . .	1	ARNLETL . M <sup>—</sup> O . EOFI . . . . .	1
		ARNOLF . M <sup>—</sup> O . EOFRPI . . . . .	2
<i>Leicester.</i>		ASLOD . M <sup>—</sup> O . EOFR . . . . .	13
CROC . ON . LEIEE . . . . .	1	ASLOVT . M <sup>—</sup> O . EOF . . . . .	14
		_____ . EOFR . . . . .	5
<i>Lincoln.</i>		_____ . EOFRPIE . . . . .	1
IVSTELEN . ON . LINC . . . . .	1	ASLVVT . M <sup>—</sup> O . EOFRPI . . . . .	1
OSFERÐ . MO . LINC . . . . .	2	CETEL . M <sup>—</sup> O . EOFRPIE . . . . .	2
SVMERLIDA . MO . LINC . . . . .	1	FARLRIM . <sup>—</sup> O . EOFR . . . . .	21
		_____ . EOFRI . . . . .	2
<i>London.</i>		_____ . EOFRP . . . . .	3
ÆLFLAR . ON . LVND . . . . .	1	FARLRM . <sup>—</sup> O . EOFRPI . . . . .	2
ÆLPERD . ON . LVNDE . . . . .	1	FARÐEIN . M <sup>—</sup> O . EOF . . . . .	1
LRVNLAR . ON . LVN . . . . .	1	FARÐIN . M <sup>—</sup> O . EOFR . . . . .	1
LEOFPINE . O . LVN . . . . .	1	FRIDCOL . M <sup>—</sup> O . EOF . . . . .	3
		_____ . EOFR . . . . .	11
<i>Maldon.</i>			
LODERE . ON . MÆLD . . . . .	1		

FRIDCOL . M <sup>-</sup> O . EOFRI . . . . 4	STIRCOL . M <sup>-</sup> O . EOFRI . . . . 1
————— . EOFRP . . . . 4	STRCOL . M <sup>-</sup> O . EOFRP . . . . 1
GRIMAN . M <sup>-</sup> O . EOFR . . . . 3	STYRCOL . M <sup>-</sup> O . EOFR . . . . 1
————— . EOFRP . . . . 1	SVNOLF . M <sup>-</sup> O . EOF . . . . 15
GRIMOLF . M <sup>-</sup> O . EOF . . . . 6	————— . EOFR . . . . 18
————— . EOFR . . . . 12	————— . EOFRP . . . . 4
————— . EOFRP . . . . 7	SVRTINE . M <sup>-</sup> O . EO . . . . 5
LODMAN . M <sup>-</sup> O . EO . . . . 1	————— . EOF . . . . 8
————— . EOF . . . . 3	TOCA . M <sup>-</sup> O . EOFRPIC . . . . 3
————— . EOFR . . . . 2	TOOLA . M <sup>-</sup> O . EOFRP . . . . 1
LRVLAN . M <sup>-</sup> O . EO . . . . 1	PIDAN . M <sup>-</sup> O . EOFRP . . . . 1
————— . EOF . . . . 1	PIDRIN . M <sup>-</sup> O . EOF . . . . 1
————— . EOFR . . . . 1	————— . EOFR . . . . 15
LRVRN M <sup>-</sup> O . EOFR . . . . 8	————— . EOFRP . . . . 1
————— . EOFRP . . . . 6	PIDRINE . M <sup>-</sup> O . EOF . . . . 4
————— . EOFRPI . . . . 6	————— . EOFR . . . . 3
HILDOLF . M <sup>-</sup> O . EO . . . . 2	PIDRN . M <sup>-</sup> O . EOFRP . . . . 1
————— . EOR . . . . 3	PVLFNOD . M <sup>-</sup> O . EOF . . . . 3
————— . EOFR . . . . 28	PVLNOD . M <sup>-</sup> O . EOF . . . . 2
————— . EOFRPI . . . . 1	————— . EOFR . . . . 31
————— . EOFRPIC . . . . 6	————— . EOFRP . . . . 2
IRE . M <sup>-</sup> O . EOFRPI . . . . 1	————— . EOFRPI . . . . 1
————— . EOFRPIC . . . . 13	PVLSTAN . M <sup>-</sup> O . EOF . . . . 5
————— . EOFRPIE . . . . 6	————— . M <sup>-</sup> O . EOFR . . . . 5
OSLOD . M <sup>-</sup> O . EOFR . . . . 2	
OSLOT . M <sup>-</sup> O . EOFRP . . . . 1	<i>Winchester.</i>
STICOL . M <sup>-</sup> O . EOFRP . . . . 1	PVLBERE . M <sup>-</sup> O . PINC . . . . 1





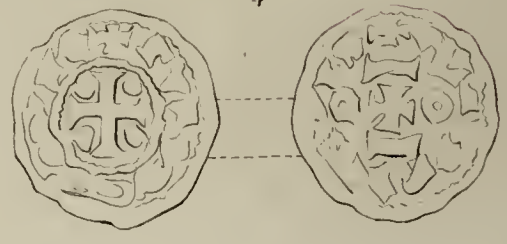
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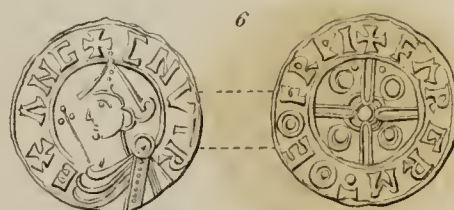
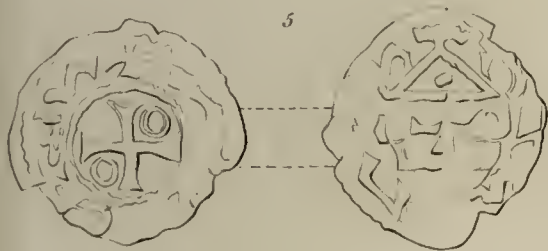
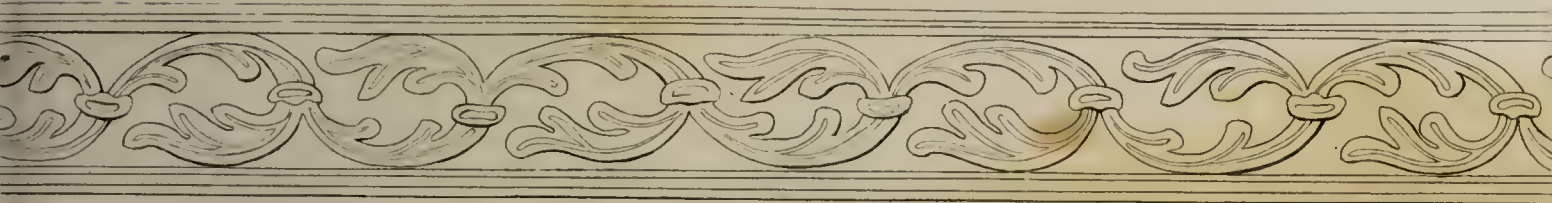


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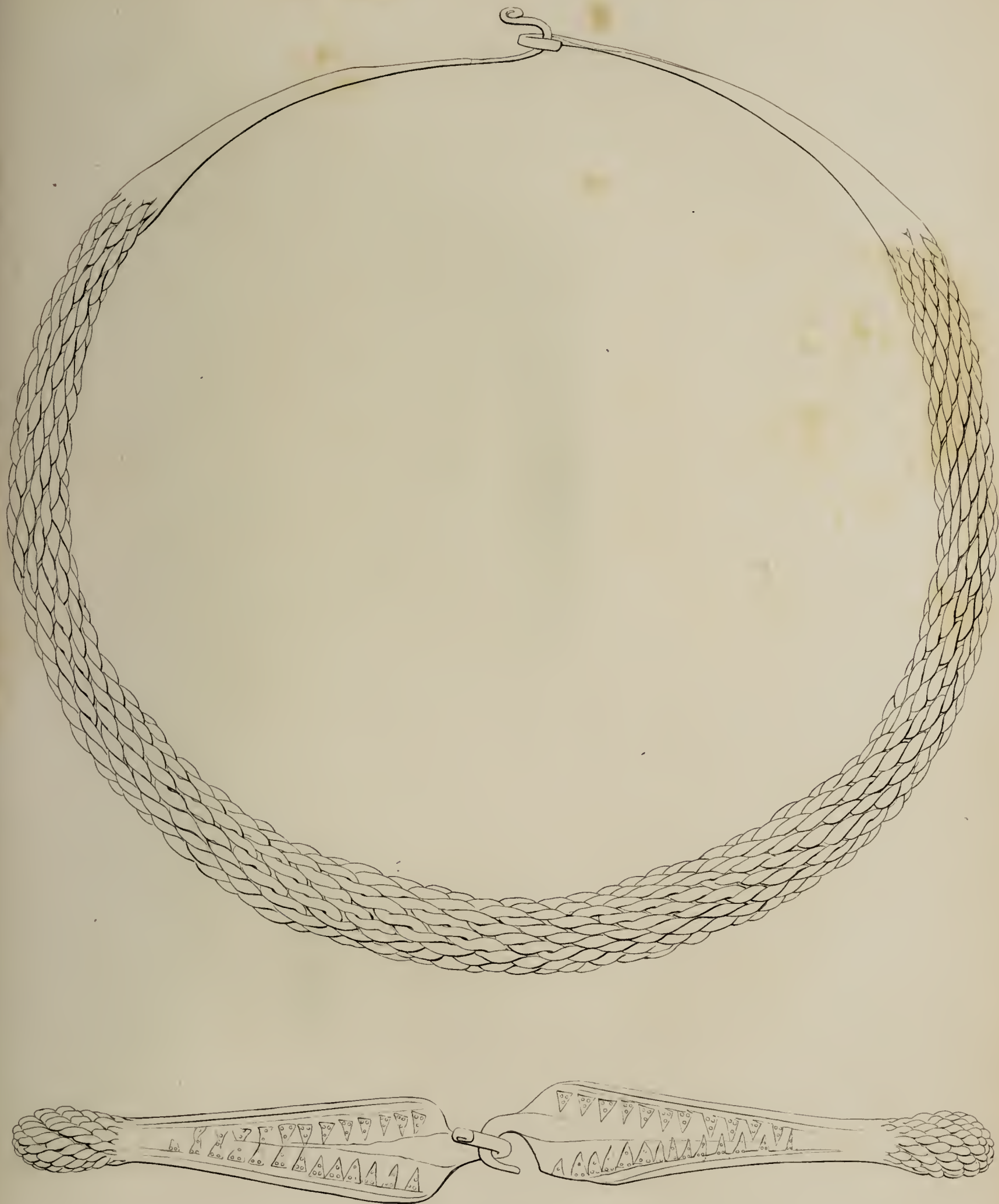
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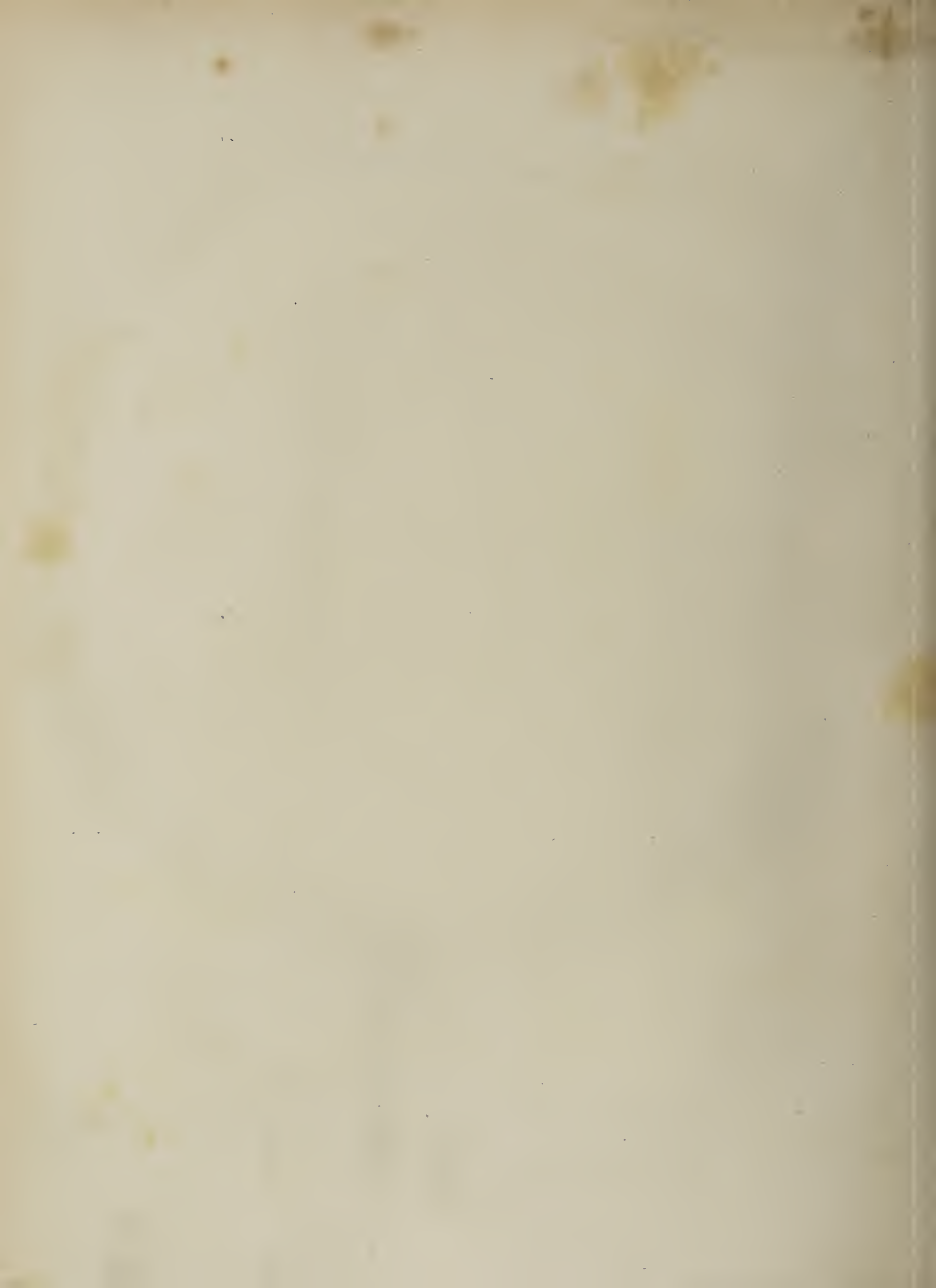
Ja. Basire, sculp.







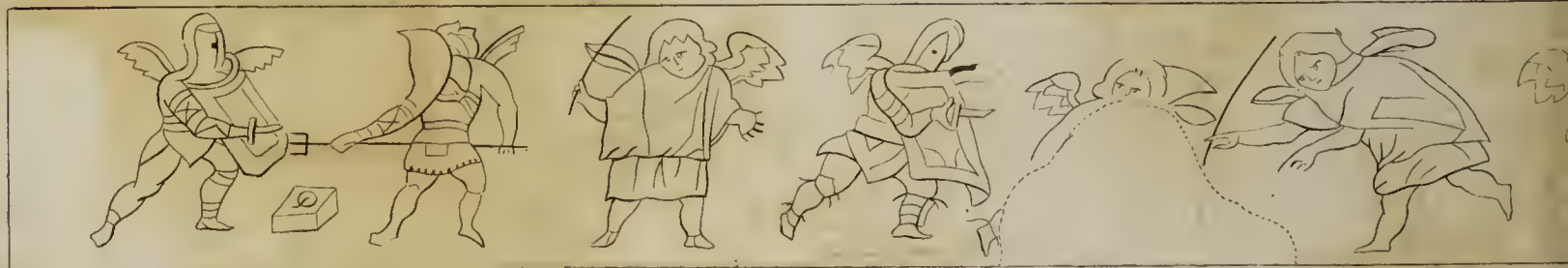
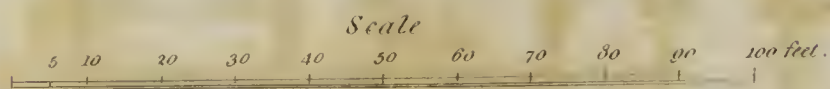
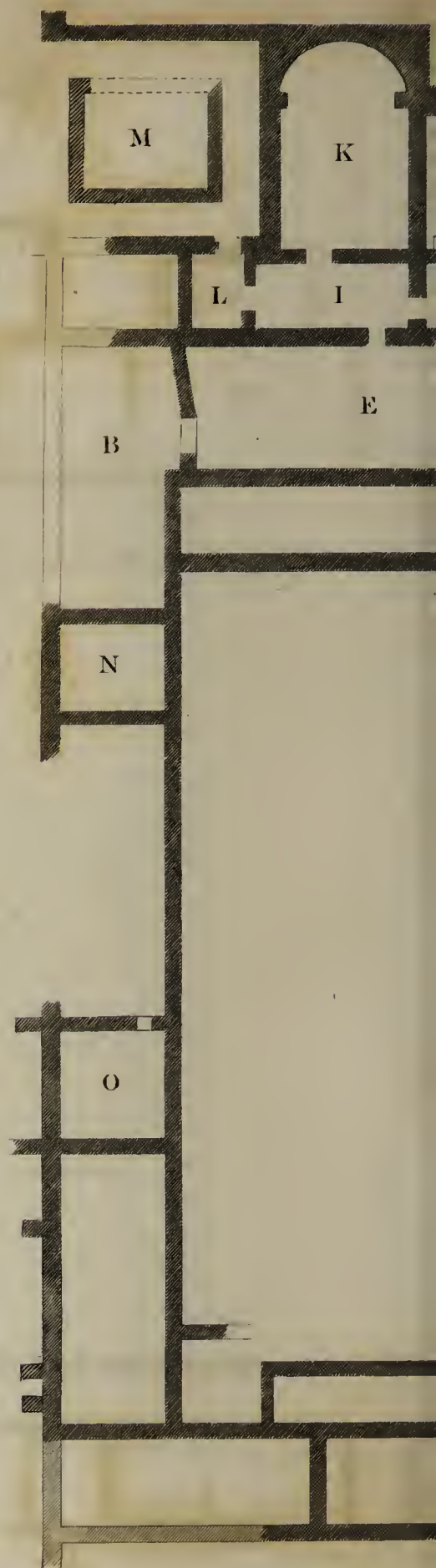
*Silver Torques found at Halton Moor.*





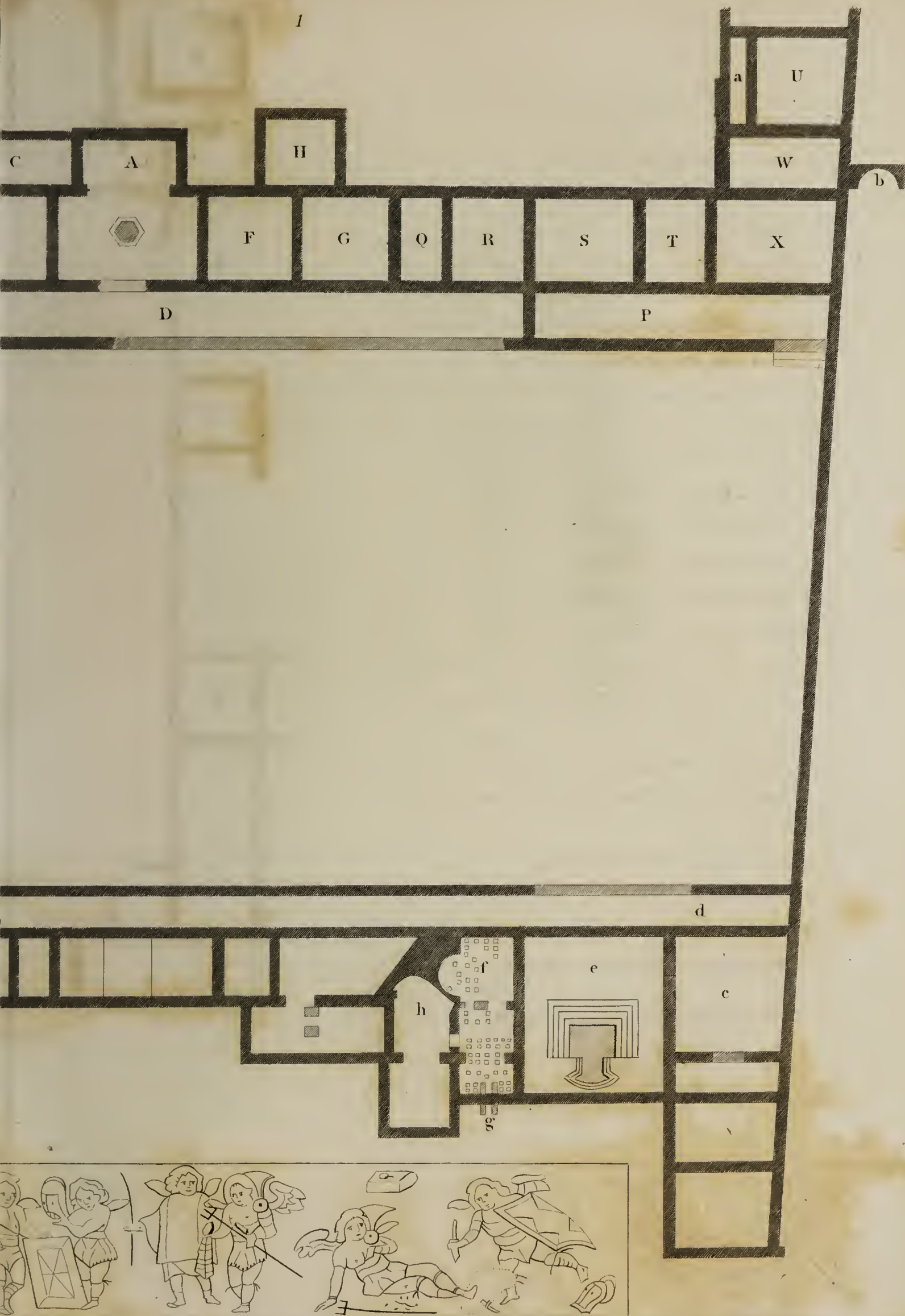


- A—Mosaic Pavement 30<sup>f</sup> by 31<sup>f</sup> 11<sup>i</sup>-----
- B—Room containing fragment of Mosaic Pavement  
which when entire was 40<sup>f</sup> 4<sup>i</sup> by 17<sup>f</sup> 4<sup>i</sup>-----
- C—Room with Mosaic Pavement 20<sup>f</sup> 4<sup>i</sup> by 9<sup>f</sup> 9<sup>i</sup>-----
- D—Cryptoporticus 157<sup>f</sup> 6<sup>i</sup> long & 10<sup>f</sup> wide-----
- E—A Court floored with terras-----
- F—Room with a terras floor-----
- G—D<sup>o</sup> with a tessellated pave.<sup>t</sup> of light brown tesserae-----
- H—Room 16 feet square with a Mosaic Pavement-----
- I—Anteroom with pavement of plain red tesserae-----
- K—Room with Mosaic Pavement 32 feet by 20-----
- L—Small room with a terras floor-----
- M—A sort of enclosed Portico-----
- N—Room in which was an open fire place-----
- O—Room in which was also an open fire place-----
- P—Continuation of the Cryptoporticus 68 f<sup>t</sup> in length-----
- Q—R.S.T.U.W.X. Rooms in which there are no pavem<sup>ts</sup>-----
- a—Passage 18<sup>f</sup> 6<sup>i</sup> by 4<sup>f</sup> 1<sup>i</sup>-----
- b—Semicircular building 8<sup>f</sup> 10<sup>i</sup> in diameter-----
- c—Room with Mosaic Pavement nearly a square of 25<sup>f</sup>-----
- d—A Cryptoporticus-----
- e—Room 35<sup>f</sup> by 30 with a Cold Bath-----
- f—A Hypocaust 34<sup>f</sup> by 12-----
- g—The Præiturnium-----
- h—Room with a coarse tessellated pavement-----



Figures on the Mosaic Pavement of the room mo









XX. *Account of the Remains of a Roman Villa, discovered at Bignor, in Sussex, in the Years 1811, 1812, 1813, 1814, and 1815. By SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. V. P. F. R. S.*

Read 17th June, 1813, and 9th March, 1815.

THE village of Bignor, in Sussex, is pleasantly situated on the north side of the South Downs, at the distance of about nine miles from the sea, six miles from Petworth, and about the same distance from Arundel. Within half a mile of the village runs a Roman road, very distinctly marked, leading from Chichester by way of Pulborough (where it crosses the river Arun) to Dorking, and from thence to London. On this road there was great reason to expect some traces of a Roman station about Bignor, as Richard of Cirencester, in his fifteenth Iter, next after *Regnum*, proceeding eastward, introduces a station which he terms "*Ad decimum*," not noticed in the Itinerary of Antonine; and Bignor is, by the Roman road, about ten miles distant from Chichester, the *Regnum* of the Romans. No Roman remains had however been noticed near this place till the year 1811, when a mosaic pavement was discovered by the plough in the month of July, in a field called the Berry, about a quarter of a mile east of the church, part of a copyhold estate held under the Earl of Newburgh by Mr. George Tupper, a respectable farmer, by whom it is also occupied. The inhabitants of the village have a tradition, that Bignor formerly stood in this field, and the common field adjoining, on the east, called the Town-Field.

This discovery having been thus accidentally made, the farmer removed the earth, which varied in depth from one to two feet, to a considerable extent; and the pavement was soon found to be of large dimensions.<sup>a</sup> Its general design is in a good taste, and the various figures are better executed than any which had been before discovered in this country.

<sup>a</sup> See the annexed Plan, Pl. XIX. A.

The decorations of this pavement consist of two circular compartments, the one seven feet six inches in diameter, the other sixteen feet; the smaller one contains a representation of the rape of Ganymede, apparently as well executed as the nature of the materials would admit; surrounded with a sort of fret, a braided guilloche, and a serrated border of black and white. The braid of the guilloche is composed of three rows of tesserae (besides the two black ones which form the outline), being cubes of about half an inch; red, yellow, and white; and blue, ash colour, and white, alternately, two and one. The fret was composed of the same materials, laid in the same order. The dark brown and red tesserae were factitious, the blue were of that kind of stone commonly called blue lyas, the white of marble, the yellow of a hard kind of stone. The tesserae of the inner circle, containing the figure, were much smaller, those of the white ground being cubes of the third of an inch; and those of the figure (some of which were of different coloured marbles, others factitious,) much smaller, many of them not exceeding the sixth of an inch.

The larger circular compartment contains six smaller ones, which are hexagonal, and all of the same form and dimensions, having unequal sides, and each being bordered with a kind of fret, and a guilloche, formed of the same materials and of the same colours as the ornaments already described; the red and yellow, and blue and ash colour, being here alternate. Within the hexagonal compartments are figures of dancing nymphs, much in the style of those which appear in the Roman paintings discovered in Italy. Neither of the figures was quite entire, but enough remained of five of them, to indicate what had been the attitude and dress; the sixth was entirely destroyed. Upon the whole, these figures are well executed, and as well drawn as could be expected, considering the nature of the work; with the exception of a defect in the lower limbs, the thighs being all too short. In the centre of this compartment is an hexagonal *piscina* or cistern, formed of a hard white sort of stone, four feet in diameter, and one foot seven inches and three quarters in depth, with a border



of stone round it nine inches and a half in width, and a step within it, at nearly half its depth, five inches and a half in width; at the bottom is a round hole three inches in diameter, from which a leaden pipe for carrying off the water was afterwards discovered on the outside of the south wall, running southward. This pipe was one inch and a half in diameter, and was laid in a sort of gutter of stone six inches wide.

The spandrils of the great circular compartment were filled with scrolls of ivy leaves; those at the south-east corner, proceeding from a goblet; and on the east side of this compartment was an elegant double fret; only a few traces remained of that which had answered it on the opposite side.

It appeared that the room to which this pavement belonged, had been heated by an hypocaust, some of the flues of which having given way, the surface of the pavement has been rendered very unequal. In clearing away the earth from this pavement, part of a small column was found, consisting of the capital and part of the shaft; it was of the Doric order, with some irregularity in its mouldings.

An opening having been made about thirty feet west of these remains, part of another pavement was discovered, which appeared to have been of large dimensions; and to have consisted of two principal compartments, the one a square of twelve feet nine inches, the other of twelve feet three inches; and two narrow ones, each of an oblong form. The fragments which remained were for the most part of small extent, but fortunately they were such as to indicate with great certainty, the general design of both compartments.

The square compartment at the north end appears to have contained four octagonal divisions, each including a star, formed by two interlaced squares, producing an inner octagon, within which there seems to have been originally the head of one of the four Seasons; as that which remains at the north-east corner, (every part of which is represented as covered with drapery, except the face; and by the side of which is a leafless branch,) has evidently been designed for Winter. The outside border of this compartment, and of the octagons, &c. within it, are formed by guilloches, like those already described, and of

the same colours, used alternately. Whether the central division of this compartment was similar to the other four, or an octagon including a circle, (which is more probable, from the variety which usually prevails in works of this kind,) could not be ascertained. A row of very old ash trees, which were taken down about thirty years ago, are said to have grown over this part of the pavement, the destruction of which may be attributed to this circumstance.

The other square compartment included a circle, which appeared to have contained eight hexagonal divisions, each connected with one side of an octagon, all formed by a guilloche of red, yellow, and white, and blue, ash colour, and white, alternately. Though only a small portion remained of one of these divisions, yet it was sufficient to shew the whole of the pattern with great certainty. The angular spaces between the hexagons appear to have contained an inscription, of which the letters, TR.<sup>b</sup> remain in the part which has been preserved.

In the spandrils at the four corners of this square compartment have been ovals formed by the guilloche, part of one of which remains, with a fragment of the figure of a boy, and on each side of the oval is a pheasant and a cornucopia. In the middle, on each side of the square, was the figure of a dolphin; that on the east side is entire, and part remains of that on the south side. The walls of the room to which this pavement belonged remained to the height of more than two feet at the north-east corner, where was a funnel above the pavement, communicating with the hypocaust beneath. Between the mosaic work and the wall was a pavement of coarse red tesserae, being cubes of somewhat more than an inch; and it was clearly ascertained that the dimensions of the room had been forty feet four inches by seventeen feet. (See the annexed plan B.)

In the latter end of October, after this discovery, the pavements were covered up with earth, to preserve them from the frost of the ensuing winter.

In the following year (1812) I availed myself of an invitation from my friend John Hawkins, Esq. of Bignor Park, and went down thi-

<sup>b</sup> It seems probable that the second letter was intended for a combination of E and R, but it is not so clearly marked as to render this point certain.



ther in the month of June for the purpose of investigating these curious remains. The first step taken was to remove the earth from the extremities of the pavement first discovered, in order to ascertain the form and dimensions of the room. It appeared to have been an oblong of nineteen feet by thirty, with a recess on the north side twenty feet ten inches wide, making the whole length of the room from north to south thirty-one feet eleven inches. (See the plan A.)

The walls on the east, west, and north sides, were two feet six inches in thickness, that on the south side three feet. Between the ornamented part of the pavement and the wall was a considerable space, (filled up with a coarse tessellated pavement of red brick tesserae,) varying in width on the east and west sides from four feet six inches to five feet, four feet ten inches in width on the north, and one foot ten inches on the south side, producing a good effect, as it serves to relieve and set off the design of the mosaic work. The walls of the recess and the northern compartment, containing the figure of Ganymede, are well squared; but the great circular compartment of this pavement, and the oblong which includes it, are strangely distorted; the west wall of this part of the room is not at right angles with that on the south side, and the lines of the mosaic work appear to have been adapted to that of the wall. Another instance of such an irregularity occurs in one of the walls of the pavement last described, marked B in the plan.\* It seems probable that this room was a *triclinium*, or grand banquetting room, in which the couches might have been so disposed on the red ground as not to have hid any of the elegant decorations of the pavement; and the recess was well calculated to answer the purpose of the high table in our public halls.

\* In most of the remains of Roman villas which have been found in this country similar deviations from regularity are to be observed; and the same occur in the remains of a Roman villa discovered at Rielves in Spain, published in 1788 by Don Pedro Arnal. We need not be surprized that such instances should occur in the provinces of the Roman empire, when Cicero, giving his brother Quintus an account of the progress of his villa near Rome, complains that the architect had, neither placed the columns upright, nor in a straight line. "*Columnas neque rectas neque e regione Diphilus collocaret: eas scilicet demolietur aliquando perpendicularo et linea discet uti.*" Epist. ad Q. Fratrem, lib. iii. 1.

The walls had been ornamented with paintings on stucco, many fragments having been found among the rubbish; the colours of which, when wetted, were very fresh and brilliant. The wall of the room marked B had the stucco remaining on it of a plain red colour.

On the west side of the recess, in the great room, another pavement (marked C in the plan) was discovered, twenty feet by nine feet nine inches, quite entire. The mosaic work consisted of two compartments, each five feet four inches square, with an oblong one between them, five feet four inches by two feet six inches; the rest of the pavement being filled up with coarse red tesserae. The design of the oblong compartment in the middle was elegant, consisting of two scrolls of ivy leaves, &c. proceeding from a goblet, round which were two borders, viz. a guilloche, and an indented one, black and white. One of the square compartments enclosed an octagon filled with squares and rhombs, in which were frets and ivy leaves; in the middle of this compartment was a square enclosing a large rose. The other square compartment included a sort of star of twelve points formed of rhombs, in the middle of which was a smaller square, with a guilloche border enclosing a flower. This pavement was several inches above the level of that first described, from which it was separated by a wall two feet six inches thick; and did not appear to have any communication with it, as the wall remained a foot above the pavement, and there were no traces of a doorway at that end of the room. At the opposite end was a doorway three feet three inches and a half in width, leading into another room twenty-two feet by ten feet four inches, the pavement of which was formed entirely of coarse red tesserae.

On the south side of the great pavement the foundation walls of a *cryptoporticus* were discovered (D in the plan), which appears to have been of much larger dimensions than any one hitherto discovered in this island: it was ten feet in width, and remains of the walls were traced to the extent of one hundred and fifty feet to the eastward: a tessellated pavement was remaining at the west end about sixty-five feet in length; the rest appeared to have been destroyed by the



plough, the soil in that part of the field being very shallow, above the level of the pavement. The pattern of this pavement was a labyrinth fret of a blue colour, composed of tesserae, (which were cubes of somewhat more than half an inch), with a red and white stripe on each side of it, the space between which and the wall was filled with large red tesserae. On the north side of this gallery the foundation walls of a range of rooms was discovered running eastward in a line with the great room first discovered: the one which adjoined that room on the east side (marked F in the plan) was nineteen feet two inches by eighteen feet nine inches, and had a floor of terras of a light red colour. The next room to the eastward (marked G) was nearly of the same dimensions, and had a tessellated pavement of coarse tesserae of stone of a light brown colour.

Adjoining the two last-mentioned rooms on the north side were the foundations of one sixteen feet square (marked H), in which was a mosaic pavement eight feet square, formed of four square compartments composed of squares, rhombs, and triangles.

The *præfurnium* of the hypocaust, by which the great room and others had been heated, was discovered on the north side of the north wall of the room marked C, and consisted of two walls eighteen inches thick and eighteen inches asunder, projecting sixteen inches from the wall of the building: between them was a sort of arch formed by bricks projecting beyond each other, and communicating with the flues under the different pavements.

About thirty feet north of the room marked I in the plan, a piece of very fine mosaic work was discovered, a little below the bottom of the ditch on the north side of the field, apparently part of a pavement of large dimensions, but the season being far advanced, it was carefully covered up again till the following Summer (1813), when the investigation of these remains was resumed, and the whole of this pavement laid open (marked K), which proved to be a parallelogram of twenty-two feet by nineteen feet ten inches, with a semicircular recess at the north end, ten feet in diameter, making the whole length thirty-two feet. The room marked I, with a plain red pavement, now

appeared to have been an anti-room to this magnificent apartment; the door way between them remained, four feet wide.

The design of this pavement was remarkably rich, and its subject particularly interesting; it consisted of one large compartment thirteen feet six inches square, between two narrow oblong ones, with a fourth approaching to a semicircle, occupying the recess at the north end. The square enclosed an octagon, within which had been eight small oblong compartments meeting towards the centre, where they must have formed an inner octagon, none of which remained, as this part of the pavement had been entirely demolished, evidently by the fall of the roof, which had forced several fragments of it, with great quantities of the heavy stone tile of the roof, down into the hypocaust; a large portion of which was laid open, and several of the piers of stone, two feet six inches and a half in height, with large bricks laid on them, became visible.

Each of the small oblong compartments was two feet nine inches by sixteen inches; two of them were entire, containing figures of cupids or genii, dancing in the manner of bacchantes; and of three others, sufficient remained to shew the attitudes of the figures.

Two of the triangular divisions at the four corners of the square contained figures of urns, with fruit and foliage; the other two were filled with cornucopiæ and foliage. The several divisions of the large square compartment were formed by a guilloche, of the same alternate colours as those in the other pavements.

The oblong compartment on the north side of the square one, was thirteen feet seven inches long and two feet six inches wide, including the border, formed of a doubly braided guilloche: it contained twelve figures of cupids or genii habited as gladiators, and exhibiting a very complete representation of the costume of the *retiarii* and *secutores*. The *secutores* appear in that remarkable kind of armour from which they originally obtained the appellation of *Samnites*; being the same which was worn by that people, and described by Livy as consisting of a shield, wider at the top for the better protection of the breast, and



shoulders, a greave for the left leg, and a crested helmet: exactly the same armour appears in the figure of a sepulchral monument erected to the memory of a gladiator, who fell a sacrifice to the cruelty of the Emperor Caracalla, which is given by Monfaucon in the second part of the third volume of his *Antiquité Expliquée*, Pl. CLIV.

The *Retiarii* appear as they are described by the Roman writers, with their heads uncovered, and with a trident in their left hands. The net by which they endeavoured to entangle their adversaries, appears in the right hand of the one who is preparing for the combat; in the others it must be supposed to be concealed in the right hand, as we are told it usually was till thrown out. They are all provided with a short sword, which they hold in the left hand with the trident. This circumstance serves to illustrate a passage in Valerius Maximus, who relates that Alterius Rufus, a Roman knight, was accidentally killed by the sword of a *Retiarius*, with which he was endeavouring to strike his fallen antagonist. On this passage Pitiscus observes, that he could not well conceive how the *Retiarius* could manage a sword, if he held the net in his right hand and the trident in his left. He suggests, however, that he might have had the sword by his side, for the purpose of dispatching his fallen adversary.

Here also appear the *Rudarii*, or veteran gladiators, who having been presented with a rod as a token of manumission, instructed the young beginners, and regulated the combats, in which latter service they appear here to be employed.

The subject of this compartment seems to have been designed to represent four different scenes, in which the same parties are engaged. In one they are seen preparing for the combat, in another just engaged in it; in a third the *retiarius* is wounded, as appears by the bloody sword of his antagonist, and the *rudarius* is coming to his assistance; in the last he is fallen, disarmed, and wounded in the thigh.<sup>a</sup>

The semicircular division at the north end of the pavement is formed by a guilloche, within which is an elegant scroll of foliage pro-

<sup>a</sup> See an outline of this subject in Pl. XIX.

ceeding from a goblet; and enclosing a circular compartment with a fret border, within which is represented a female head, ornamented with a chaplet of flowers; tresses of hair appear on the shoulders, which are naked. The most remarkable circumstance attending this subject is, that the head is surrounded with a *nimbus*, like that of Christian saints, of a light blue colour; few examples of which appear in any of the remains of ancient art, and only one is described as having been discovered in a work of this kind. From the *nimbus* it is clear that this was designed for the head of a deity; and the circumstance of the shoulders being naked, leaves little room to doubt that it was intended for Venus.

On each side of the circular compartment are cornucopiæ and festoons of foliage, with two birds, one on each side, which seem to have been designed for pheasants.

The wall on the north side of this room was found to continue thirty-two feet towards the west, where it terminated with a projection or buttress of two feet, forming two sides of what appeared to have been a sort of court (M in the plan), enclosing an area of thirty feet, filled with great quantities of stones, bricks, and tiles, in some places to the depth of four feet. A considerable portion of this area was opened to the foundation of the walls, but no pavement was then discovered, nor any remains of cross walls. At a small distance from the west wall of the great room last described, the base and part of the shaft of a small column were discovered, having the same irregular mouldings as those discovered at Woodchester, and figured in the account of the Roman antiquities of that place; evidently of a much later date than the mosaic pavements, and other parts of this building.

At the west end of the anti-room, marked I in the plan, was a very small room marked L, the dimensions of which were eight feet two inches by twelve feet, with two door ways, one on the east side opening into the anti-room I, and the other on the north communicating with the square area marked M in the plan.

The continuation of the east wall of the room at the west end of the



*cryptoporticus* was next explored to the southward, and traces of it were found to the extent of one hundred feet in that direction, with several cross walls, of which enough remained to shew that there had been a range of rooms running north and south, connected with that running east and west; and leaving no room to doubt that the remains already discovered formed part of a very extensive edifice, built round a court.

The room (marked N) adjoining that marked B, had a terras floor nearly two feet below the level of the pavement of that room; the walls which remained pretty entire on the east, north, and south sides, to the height of about two feet, were covered with stucco two inches thick, painted of a red colour, and at the bottom was a sort of skirting of plaster projecting two inches and a quarter from the wall and two inches in height. The same was observed in all the other remains of rooms, where the pavement or other floor was entire, up to the wall; and any portion of the stucco remained, down to the bottom of the wall. On the west side the greater part of the wall had been destroyed quite to the foundation; on the east side it remained perfect to the height of two feet ten inches and a half, which circumstance fortunately occasioned the preservation of a fire-place twenty-one inches and a half wide in the front, seventeen inches at the back, and eight inches deep, with a hearth formed of eight bricks, each about seven inches square. The fire-place was formed by two brick tiles on each side, which had been cramped together with iron, and were placed as on the sides of the stove introduced by Count Rumford: no part of any chimney or funnel by which the smoke might have been conveyed away, remained. I am not aware of any open fire-place of this kind having been discovered elsewhere in the remains of a Roman building, though it is certain, from various passages in the Roman writers, that other means were employed by the ancients for warming their apartments besides hypocausts. The *caminus* is mentioned by Cicero, Horace, Vitruvius, and others, but the learned commentators on these authors are by no means agreed as to its form or situation; and it has been much ques-

tioned by some of them, on the authority of several passages in ancient writers, and from none having been discovered in the remains of Roman buildings, whether there was any chimney, or other means of conveying away the smoke; though it is hardly to be conceived that a room could have been habitable under such circumstances, at times when it was necessary to close the doors and windows. The dimensions of this room were fourteen feet six inches by seventeen feet. At the distance of forty-four feet from the south wall proceeding southward, the foundation walls were traced of another room (marked O) sixteen feet five inches by fifteen feet six inches; about a fourth part of the floor had a coarse tessellated pavement, formed of a light brown stone, the rest was of terras. Against the west wall was a fire-place, with a hearth formed of four square bricks; the fire-place was constructed in the same manner as that above described, but was of smaller dimensions, the opening in front being only nineteen inches and a half.

In the autumn of the same year, by following the foundations of walls in the adjoining common field called the Town Field, at the east end of the *cryptoporticus*, a second gallery was discovered (marked P) separated from the former by a wall, in which no doubt there had been a door-way, though the wall did not remain to a sufficient height to shew it. This second gallery, or continuation of the *cryptoporticus*, was like that ten feet wide, and extended to the length of sixty-eight feet, making the whole length of this extraordinary *ambulatio* no less than two hundred and twenty-seven feet. Part of a tessellated pavement remained about the middle of the lesser gallery, the design of which was similar to that already described as remaining in the larger one, except that the colours of the labyrinth were changed, what was red in the one being blue in the other, and vice versa; and that, instead of a guilloche border, the pavement in the smaller gallery had a blue and white indented one.

The range of rooms running eastward from the great *triclinium* were found to extend the whole length of the *cryptoporticus*. Besides those above-mentioned, the foundation walls of five others were found



(marked Q, R, S, T, X), of the following dimensions: eight feet one inch by eighteen feet ten inches, sixteen feet six inches by eighteen feet ten inches, twenty-five feet by eighteen feet ten inches, sixteen feet three inches by eighteen feet ten inches, and twenty-six feet six inches by eighteen feet ten inches; and at the east end of this range of apartments were the foundation walls of two other rooms; one of them (W) thirteen feet two inches by twenty-four feet, the other (U) eighteen feet three inches by eighteen feet six inches; and a passage (a) eighteen feet six inches by four feet one inch, running northward where the building appeared to have extended further, but could not well be traced in that direction beyond the hedge of the town field, as on the other side of that hedge is an orchard, and the foundations lay very deep. None of the seven rooms last-mentioned appear to have had either tessellated or mosaic pavements. One of them (marked S in the plan,) appeared to have been floored with bricks ten inches and three quarters square; and another, marked T, to have been paved with large flag stones. The width of the walls in this part of the building varied from two to three feet; they were all of the stone of the country unhewn, and had evidently been plastered.

At the east end of the room, marked [w] in the plan, were the foundations of a building marked [b], forming on the south side a semicircle eight feet ten inches in diameter, which was all that could be traced of it.

The wall which terminated the building to the eastward was found not to stand at right angles with the cryptoporticus, but to run in the diagonal direction expressed in the plan. From the south-east corner of the cryptoporticus this outside wall was found to run in the same diagonal direction to the southward, where it continued as a single wall, there having been no apartments on the east side of the great court: having been traced to the extent of one hundred and thirty-three feet to the southward, a cross wall two feet wide occurred; and eight feet further, another two feet five inches in width, which, by being traced to the westward, were soon found to be the remains of a *cryptoporticus* on the south side of the court, marked (d), communicating

with a range of rooms twelve in number, which did not contain any pavements, or any thing remarkable, except those at the east end, which presented very interesting remains of the baths. The first room from the outside of the eastern wall (marked c) would have been a square of twenty-five feet, but that its figure is a little distorted on the east side by the diagonal direction of the wall above-mentioned. It contained a mosaic pavement, in a better state of preservation than any which had been hitherto discovered in this place. Its design was a square compartment, containing four stars of eight points each, formed by two interlaced squares composed of guilloches differently coloured; within each star was a circle of three borders, the vitruvian scroll, a guilloche, and an indented one with a flower in the centre. In the middle of the pavement was a circle, consisting of a guilloche between two indented borders, within which was the head of Medusa. The square compartment had a border consisting of frets of a red colour and guilloches placed alternately. Beyond the mosaic pavement were three rows of black and red tiles six inches square laid chequer-wise, and next to the wall a row of bricks, each eleven inches by fifteen inches and a half. Great part of a small column of stone was found lying on the mosaic pavement: this pillar was in the same style as the fragment first discovered, being a sort of irregular Doric, the most remarkable feature of which is, that the *tori* of the base are both of the same size: the base was fourteen inches and three quarters in diameter, the shaft two feet two inches in length: it had been originally of one stone, but was broken into two pieces. Both the base and capital had made deep impressions on the pavement, at about the distance of four feet from which were similar impressions, evidently made by another pillar of the same size; leaving no room to doubt that they had stood, at some height above the pavement, on each side of a doorway between this and the adjoining room, the dimensions of which appeared to have been thirty feet by thirty-five. The floor of this room, marked (e) a great part of which remained, consisted of black and white stones, each six inches square, laid chequer-wise: the white were of the same kind of hard stone as those in the cistern of the large triclinium, the



black were a sort of slate. Next to the wall of the room was a row of bricks each eleven inches by fifteen inches and a half. Nearly in the middle of this room was a cold bath, eighteen feet from east to west, and three feet two inches deep from the level of the floor: it had three steps on the east, west, and north sides, of various width and height; some ten inches and a half wide, others eleven inches, and varying in height from one foot seven-eighths to thirteen inches and a half; the lowermost was only six inches high. The steps on the north side were covered with stones very smoothly wrought; at the east and west ends, their sides, as well as the bottom of the bath, were covered with terras laid about two inches thick on bricks. Many fragments of a neat cornice of stone two inches wide, with an ogee moulding, were found among the rubbish which filled the bath.

On the west side of the room in which the cold bath was discovered, appeared the remains of an extensive hypocaust (f in the plan) thirty-four feet by twelve, with a semicircular projection six feet two inches in diameter, on the west side at the north end. From the frequency of the brick piers, it appeared that the apartment over it must have been a sudatory, probably divided into several smaller rooms, of different degrees of heat. The *præfurnium* was on the outside of the wall at the south end: the piers were two feet nine inches in height and seven inches and a half square, consisting of eighteen layers of bricks, with a larger one ten inches and a half square laid at the top and bottom. Above the piers was a stratum ten inches and a half thick, composed of mortar and pounded brick, on which was laid a coarse tessellated pavement of stone, some pieces of which remained in their original position, being of one colour, formed of a light brown stone; other fragments, on which were some ornaments of a blue colour on a white ground, were found between the piers of the hypocaust; and two small pieces near the north-east corner, in their original position, on one of which was an ivy leaf and other remains of ornaments, which indicated that the pavement had been in the same style as those discovered in other parts of the building.

In the adjoining room, marked [h] in the plan, were considerable remains of a coarse tessellated pavement, and under it was an hypo-

caust which communicated with the large one above-mentioned by means of an arch of brick, three feet nine inches wide, and three feet two inches high: immediately over this arch was a doorway two feet three inches wide, with a skirting of plaster on each side; from which it was apparent that there could never have been a door.

In the month of June 1815, the investigation was resumed, when on entirely removing the earth from what appeared to be a court thirty feet square at the north-west corner of the building, marked L in the plan, an inner wall was discovered eighteen inches wide, at the distance of six feet two inches from the outer one, and forming a sort of portico, the walls of which appeared to have been plastered. The earth, stones, and rubbish, were here accumulated to the height of four feet from the bottom of the walls; immediately above the floor, which appeared to have been of terras, lay great quantities of heavy hexagonal stone tiles, in many of which were the nails for fastening them. It is probable that this portico was not entirely close, but that it had a range of low columns, resting at a certain height on the inner wall, the fragment of one having been discovered in this place two years ago, and the whole of a similar one was now found on the east side; it was in two pieces, of a white stone much resembling the Painswick stone of Gloucestershire: the whole height of this pillar was only three feet ten inches, nothing was wanting of it, except the plinth of the base, which had been broken off; it was of the same irregular kind of Doric as that before described.

The next subject of investigation was the cold bath before mentioned in the room thirty-five feet by thirty, marked U in the plan. When the earth was entirely removed from this bath, it appeared to be an oblong of eighteen feet two inches by twelve feet, with a recess seven feet by seven feet on the north side, terminating in the segment of a circle, making the whole extent of the bottom of the bath fourteen feet three inches and a quarter from east to west, and thirteen feet one inch from north to south; and of the top eighteen feet two inches by eighteen feet four inches. No drain was to be perceived at the bottom, though no doubt there had been one, but as the terras



floor was every where broken up except at the north-west corner, all traces of it had been destroyed: from the remains of the floor at the north-west corner, it appeared that there had been a layer of bricks under the terras floor at the bottom of the bath.

After clearing away all the earth from the remains of the hypocaust, it appeared that there had been two rooms over it, one of them twelve feet square, the other twenty-eight feet eight inches by twelve feet; the hypocaust being separated into two parts of those dimensions by brick piers two feet wide, between which were arched openings eighteen inches wide for the communication of the heat between the two divisions. The smaller room had a mosaic pavement, a fragment of which has been before mentioned.

Having thus stated the several facts relative to the discovery of the remains of a Roman building at Bignor, I propose to submit to the Society a few conjectures, as to the origin and use of that building.

From what has been already discovered, which, by a comparison with other works of the same kind, could have been only a part of the building; and from the extent and magnificence of the apartments which it contained, far exceeding in number what have been commonly discovered in similar remains, no reasonable doubt, I think, can be entertained that it was the villa of some person of consequence, if not a public work, intended for the residence of the *Proprætor*, or at least the legate or governor of the province:

The province of the *Regni*, within which it is situated, the capital of which was *Regnum*, now Chichester, ten miles distant from this place, was in all probability one of those reduced by the Romans under Vespasian in the reign of the emperor Claudius, as we find recorded by Suetonius.<sup>a</sup>

And it is certain that Cogidunus, a British prince, who had submitted to the Roman power, and was made legate in Britain by Claudius, governed in this province of the *Regni*, as we learn from the inscribed stone found in the year 1723 at Chichester, and now in the possession of the Duke of Richmond; whence it appears, that by

<sup>a</sup> “Duas validissimas gentes, superque viginti oppida, et insulam Vectem Britannicæ proximam in deditionem redegit.”

his order, a temple dedicated to Neptune and Minerva was erected at *Regnum* by the *Collegium Fabrorum*. This is further confirmed by a passage in Tacitus's Life of Agricola: "Quædam civitates Cogiduno regi donatæ;" adding, that he remained faithful to the Romans down to his time.

That considerable buildings were erected in Britain during the reign of Titus we also learn from Tacitus, who informs us that the Britons erected temples, houses, porticos, and baths, by the advice and with the assistance of Agricola. Many, no doubt, had previously been erected by the Romans themselves.

By a comparison of the different specimens of mosaic work discovered at Bignor, with the figures of similar remains in other parts of Europe, the age of which has been pretty satisfactorily ascertained, there appears good ground for supposing that they may be referred to as early a period as the reign of Titus.

In the year 1708, a mosaic pavement was discovered at Avenches in Switzerland, the *Aventicum Helvetiorum* of Antonine's Itinerary, called by Tacitus *Gentis Caput*, which was patronized in a particular manner by the emperor Vespasian. Of this pavement a particular account was published by Mr. De Schmidt, Seigneur de Rossan, in his *Recueil d'Antiquités de la Suisse*, from which it appears so exactly to resemble the large pavement first discovered at Bignor, that there seems good ground for conjecturing that they are the work of the same artist. Each of them has a cistern of about the same size (that at Avenches being octangular), being the only examples of the kind which are mentioned as having been before discovered. The pavement at Avenches has figures of Bacchantes in octagonal compartments, executed exactly in the same style, and with the same defect in the drawing, of the lower extremities being too short as they appear in the Bignor pavement, and a blue *nimbus* round the head of Bacchus, as it here appears round that of Venus, which is, I believe, peculiar to these two pavements. There is also a general agreement between the style of ornament in both of them.

Another circumstance which strongly inclines me to refer these pavements to so early a period is, that many of the ornaments and



general style of the mosaic work bear a striking resemblance to those of the pavements discovered at Pompeii, which could not have been of a later date than the reign of Titus. The ball in the stem of the vases which fill two of the spandrils of the pavement last discovered, and of that from which the scrolls in the bow proceed, is a peculiarity which occurs in one of the pavements at Pompeii.

To this may be added, that the general style and arrangement of the ornaments which uniformly prevail in all the Bignor pavements differs from any yet discovered in Britain, and has the appearance of much greater antiquity. The figures, too, are composed of much better materials, and are much better drawn and executed than those which appear in other works of the kind so frequently found in this island.

S. LYSONS.

XXI. *Observations upon the Composition of the Colours found on the Walls of the Roman House discovered at Bignor in Sussex.* By SIR HUMPHREY DAVY, Knt. F.R.S. in a Letter to SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. V. P.

Read 15th June, 1815.

MY DEAR SIR,

June 14, 1815.

I HAVE examined the colours found on the walls of the Roman house discovered at Bignor in Sussex, and I find that they are similar in chemical composition to those employed in the baths of Titus at Rome, and in the houses and public buildings at Pompeii and Herculaneum.

Two of the reds of the dullest hue prove to be ochres. The brighter red, which you put into my hands yourself, is vermilion. The yellows are ochres. The blue is a frit, or artificial ultramarine, composed of peroxide of copper, silica, and alkali, and is of the same kind as the colour said by Vitruvius to have been discovered in Egypt, and which was manufactured in his time at Puteoli. There are two greens; one is a green earth of the same kind as that of Verona, and the other a carbonate of copper, the colour known to the ancients by the name of chrysocola.

The walls of the houses in the Roman and Greek cities of Italy are covered with a stucco composed of powdered marble of different degrees of fineness, and lime. The fragments of the stucco from the Roman house in Sussex exhibit a similar texture to those of the houses in Italy, but powdered brick and stone have been used instead of powdered marble.

I have the honour to be,

My dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

H. DAVY.

S. LYSONS, Esq. V. P. R. S.

&c. &c. &c.



XXII. *A Letter from the Rev. EDMUND FERRERS, F.S.A. addressed to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary, accompanying an authenticated Copy of the Will of King James the Second, with an Inventory of the Goods and Chattels belonging to that Monarch at the time of his Death.*

Read 8th June, 1815.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE Parchments which accompany this contain the last Will and Testament of King James the Second. On his death they were deposited in the Scots College at Paris, from whence, at the time of its demolition, they were literally snatched from the flames by a Gentleman who gave them to my friend and parishioner Sir Henry Tichborne, of Tichborne, Hants. Bart.

Sir Henry was released by the restoration of Louis the Eighteenth from a confinement in France from the year 1802 to the year 1814. On his return to Tichborne, he had the goodness to favour me with a perusal of what now lies before you, and to indulge me with the opportunity of communicating them through you to the Society in general. Their authenticity and contents speak for themselves; and when they have been laid before the Council, and read, if thought proper, you will oblige me by returning them, that I may restore them to Sir Henry Tichborne.

I am, with great respect,

My dear Sir,

Very truly and sincerely your's,

EDMUND FERRERS.

DUNN'S HOTEL, WESTMINSTER BRIDGE,

June 1, 1815.

## WILL OF KING JAMES II.

IN the name of God Amen. We JAMES THE SECOND by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. Being (God be prais'd) sound in memory, though infirm in body, do make this Our last Will and Testament in manner following, hereby revokeing all other Wills and Testaments or Codicils by Us at any time heretofore made or publish'd, excepting only one Codicil writt in our own hand, and bearing date the fifth of March in the year one thousand six hundred and ninty nine new stile, which said Codicil We do hereby ratify and confirme as part of Our last Will and Testament. IN the first place We do resigne and give up our Soul to Almighty God, hoping for saluation thorow the merites, passion, and death of our blessed Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ; Our body we committ to the earth, and it is Our will that the same, in case We dy in Our Kingdom of England, be priuately interred in Our Royall Chapel called Henry the seventh's Chapel, adjoyning to our Collegiate Church of S<sup>t</sup>. Peter's Westminster; and in case We dy in France, Our Will is that our body be burried priuately in the parish Church of the same place wher We shall happen to dy, in case Our deerest brother the Most Christian King will approve thereof, and agree to the same. We will, and our will is, that all the Debts that will appear to be justly due from Us as our proper Debt be paid and satisfied with all conuenient speed by our Heirs and Successors. And whereas We, when Duke of York, by Indentures of Lease bearing date the six and twentieth day of September, and Release bearing date the seven and twentieth day of the same month in the one and thirtieth Year of the Reign of our late dearest brother Charles the second, and afterwards We by Our Letters patents under Our Great Seal of England bearing date the eight and twentieth day of August in the first Year of our Reign, and also by other Letters patents under Our said Great Seal bearing date the eight and twentieth day of August aforesaid, and also by Letters patents bearing date the third day of No-



vember in the said first Year of our Reign, and also by other Letters patents under Our said Great Seal bearing date the third day of September in the second Year of our Reign, have made provision for Our intirely beloved Wife and Royall Consort the Queen for the support and maintenance of her royall state and dignity, as by the said Indentures and severall Letters patents may at large appear; We do in all things hereby ratify, establish, and confirme the same and every of them, and all and every the grants, clauses, powers, matters, and things in them or any of them contain'd.

We give and bequeath all Our personall estate whatsoever, saving such part and portions thereof as shall be otherwise dispos'd of by this Our Last Will and Testament, to Our most dear Son James Prince of Wales, chargeing and commanding him to be dutifull and obedient in every thing to Our said deerest Consort the Queen whom We do hereby constitute and appoint his Gardien during his minority, and till he arive to the age of eighteen years complete; and also chargeing and commanding him to be order'd and rul'd both in his marriage and in all other publick and priuate affaires, and in giving of all Offices and Charges, by the advice and counsell of our said dearest Consort the Queen. Nevertheless it is Our Will that during his said minority, all Acts and Things shall be done as under him, and in his name, notwithstanding his minority or the guardianship aforesaid. As to his duty to God, let him allways bear in mind those words of our Saviour, What will it availe a man to gain the whole World and lose his own Soul? Upon my decease he will have an undoubted Right to the Crown of England, but should he be kept from it for his Religion, if our Saviours words be true he will be a gainer by that loss. On the other side, if it shall please the Divine Providence to overrule the injustice of evill men (who would deprive him of his Right) and to place him in the Throne of his Ancestors, We recommend to him most especially to forgive all the Injurys that have been done both to Our self and to him, that so by a behaviour truely christian both in that matter and in all others, he may convince his subjects of the truth of his Religion, from which their forefathers in these latter times have so unhappily departed. We also recommend to our said deerest

son to provide, as far as he is able, for all those our Seruants, without distinction of Religion, who upon the motive of Loyalty have follow'd and serv'd Us in the time of Our distress, and when it shall please God to put him in possession of the Crown of England and of the other Kingdoms which rightfully belong to him, We, as a father, advise and require him never to molest his subjects in the enjoyment of their Religion, Rights, Libertys, and Property; and let him know that a King can never be happy, unless his Subjects be easy. Furthermore We will have him reward, according to their respective degrees and merits, all such as shall appear instrumental in the recovery of his Right.

We do name and appoint Our said dearest Consort the Queen sole Executrix of this Our Last Will and Testament; and we farther bequeath to her for her own proper use, all such jowells, plate, furnitures, household stuff, coaches, horses, and other goods which are imployd in her present use and service. And whereas she our said dearest Consort hath expended and lay'd out in Our Service several sums of her own proper mony, We will and ordaine that all such sums of mony be duely payd to her, according to the account that she herself shall give of them, not to be controlled or examin'd by any person whatsoever.

And whereas by Letters patents under Our Great Seal of England bearing date the twenty eighth day of November in the year of our Lord God One thousand six hundred and ninty eight, and in the fourteenth year of Our reign, We have secured for Our most dear daughter Louise Mary the sum of fifty thousand pounds sterling, out of the rents, revenues, and proffitts of the General Letter-Office, Post Office, or Office of Post-Master General, as her marriage Portion, or otherwise for her support and maintenance, as by the said Letters patents, relation being thereunto had, may appear; Our Will is, and We do hereby ratify and confirm the said Grant, and all the Clauses in the said last mention'd Letters patents contain'd, and do also by this Our last Will and Testament enjoin our Heirs and Successors freely and without any interruption to permitt Our said most dear daughter Princess Louise Mary, her Heyres, Executors, and Administrators, and



her Trustees in the said Letters patents nam'd and appointed, to take, receive, and enjoy the full benefit and advantage of the said Letters patents according to the true intent and meaning thereof.

We also will that Our abovenam'd Executrix do procure one thousand Masses to be sayd for our Soul, in such manner, and in such places, as she shall think most convenient.

And finally We do hereby declare and publish this Writting to be Our last Will and Testament, willing and requiring that the same be observed and taken accordingly. In witnes whereof We have directed Our right trusty and right well beloved Charles Earl of Monmouth and Middleton to write Our name underneath this Our last Will and Testament in these words 'JAMES R.' and to affix our Signet to the same before the publishing thereof; and immediatly thereupon We have published and declared the same as Our last Will and Testament in the presence of the undernamed Witneses, at our Court at S<sup>t</sup>. Germaines en laye this eighth day of September in the Year of our Lord God One thousand seven hundred and one, and in the seventeenth year of our Reign, the persons being present, and calld to witnes the same who have subscribed their names in testimony thereof.

JAMES R.



This is a true Copy of the last Will of our most dear Lord and Husband King James the second, remaining with Us

MARIA R.

This Copy was compar'd with the original Will in our presence, and we do hereby attest the same to be exact and true. At the Castle of St. Germaines en Laye the two and twentieth day of July One thousand seven Hundred and three.

PERTH.

MONMOUTH and MIDDLETON.

CARYLL.

ROBT. POWER.

MEMORANDUM that the words *without distinction of Religion* were written in the margine, and declar'd to be read in the one and twentieth line of this His Majesties Last Will and Testament before the same was publish'd. MEMORANDUM likewise that a long razure beginning in the end of the five and twentieth line, and ending in the six and twentieth line, between the words *mony* and *We* was made before the publishing hereof, and these words *What is crost out between the word mony and the word We is done by our Order*, were written in the margine before the publishing of this Will. MEMORANDUM likewise that the razure in the four and thirtieth line was made before the publishing of this Will, and these words *We have directed Our right trusty and right wellbeloved Charles Earl of Monmouth and Middleton to write Our name underneath this Our last Will and Testament in these Words JAMES R. and to affix our Signet to the same before the publishing thereof, and immediatly thereupon we have published and declared the same as Our Last Will and Testament in the presence of the undernam'd Witnesses*, were written in the margine before this Will was publish'd, and declared to be read in the said four and thirtieth line between the words *Whereof* and *At*. MEMORANDUM that Charles Earl of Monmouth and Middleton did by his Majesties express direction write his Majesties name hereunto in these words 'JAMES R.' in his Majesties presence, and affixed his Majesties Signet hereunto: and afterwards his Majesty publish'd and declar'd this Writing to be his last Will and Testament in our presence, being assembled together to be witnesses hereunto.

PERTH      GRIFFIN      D J LHUYD      HENRY HATCHER  
CARYLL      J. STAFFORD      RICH. BIDDULPH      ROB<sup>t</sup>. POWER."



*Inventory of the Goods and Chattels, &c.*

“ A TRUE AND JUST INVENTORY indented & made the two and twentyth Day of July in the yeare of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and three, and in the second year of the Reign of our most dear SON JAMES THE THIRD by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, &c. By Us Marie Queen Mother of England, Guardian of our said most dear Son, & sole Executrix of the last Will & Testament of Our most dear Sovereigne Lord and Husband the late King James the second, of ever blessed memory deceased at the Castle of S<sup>t</sup>. Germaines en Laye, of all & singular the Goods and Chattels of his said late Majesty whatsoever which came to our hands, possession, or knowledge, valued, appraised, and returned unto us by Francis Plowden Esq<sup>r</sup>. Comptroller of his present Majesties Household, and by other the proper Officers of our Household & Stables, & by Us exhibited unto our said most dear Son KING JAMES THE THIRD in the presence of the subscribing Witnesses hereunto, one part whereof is to be kept by, & to remain with Ourself, & the other to be kept by, & to remain with our said most dear Son, and both firmed with our Signe Manuall and Seal at Armes.

*In the late Kings Closette.*

Imprimis, A little strong Box with forty little Money Boxes of silver valued - - - - -  
Item the Great Seals of England & Ireland in Silver, and that of Scotland in brass, with fourteen little gold Meddals, or Cæsar's heads.<sup>a</sup>

BOOKS.<sup>b</sup>

Mr. de Sassy his Scripture, Mr de Thou his History of France, some Books of Mapps and some Books of Devotion, all to the value of - - - - -

				Livers		
-	-	-	-	200		
-	-	-	-	300		

MARGINAL NOTES.

<sup>a</sup> The two Silver Seals were broke and the Silver was given to Mr. Roettier to make new Seals for the present King.

<sup>b</sup> Here may be expected an Account of the Kings Money & Jewels, but it is well known he had very little of either: and what he had was usually kept in our closette, and shall be specified hereafter under that head.

PICTURES.<sup>c</sup>

1. A Picture of King Charles the second when Prince of Wales, with the Duke of York, and Princess Royal afterwards Princess of Orange, by Vandike - -
2. A Picture of the late King when Duke of York in Armor.
3. A Picture of the Prince of Wales now King, and of the Princess his sister, by Largitiere.
4. A large Picture of the King, Ourselfe, Prince, and Princess, by Miniard.
5. A Picture of the Prince of Wales, in Coates, by Genari.
6. A Picture of Ourselfe, by Troy.
7. A Picture of Our Saviour at the Pillar, by Genary.
8. A Picture of Our Saviour in Our Ladies Armes, & S<sup>t</sup>. Joseph kneeling; by Genary.
9. A Picture of Cardinal Howard.
10. A Picture of the late Pope Innocent XII.

*Plate belonging to the late Kings Back-  
stairs in the Pages Custody.*

	Weight			Value
	mar.	onc.	gr.	
One warming pan weighing - - -	7	7	0	
Four Candlesticks - - - -	8	1	2	
Two Chamberpots <sup>d</sup> - - - -	4	1	4	
One Chocolate Pot - - - -	2	6	2	
One Tankard - - - -	3	2	2	
One Cup and Cover - - - -	1	4	2	
One Bason - - - -	2	6	4	
One small Cullender - - - -	0	7	0	
One small Ladle - - - -	0	5	4	
One Cup and Cover gilt - - -	2	4	2	

<sup>c</sup> Most of these Pictures were formerly in our Lodgings, but since the late King's death, have been, and now are, all, in the present King's Closet.

<sup>d</sup> One of the Chamberpots weighing 13 ounces 3 gros was deliverd to Roettier, with the Chocolate Pot, towards making the Great Seals of Scotland and Ireland.



	mar.	onc.	gr.	Value		
One Skellet or Pot with a Cover - -	4	0	6			
Two Pair of Snuffers and two Pans -	3	0	4			
One Extinguisher - - - -	0	1	3			
Two Tosters - - - -	1	5	5			
Weight in all - - -	43 <sup>mar.</sup>	6 <sup>onc.</sup>	0 <sup>gr.</sup>			
Valued at 30 <sup>livres</sup> the Mar } amounts in all to - - }				1312	10	0

*Plate in the Barbers Custody.*

One little Shaveing Bason } One Water Pot <sup>c</sup> - - }	weight - -	3	7	0	116	5	0
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*Plate in Middleton the Apothecarys hands.*

One Morter and Pestle <sup>f</sup> - -	weight	8	5	0	258	15	0
--	--------	---	---	---	-----	----	---

*Plate for the Gentlemen Waiters Table in  
the Custody of Maurice.*

	Weight			value		
	m	on	gr	liv	sols	den
Twenty four Spoons - - - -	6	6	6			
Twenty four Forks - - - -	5	7	0			
Twelve Tumblers and six Salts - -	14	2	0			

*Plate in the Custody of Macarty Yeoman  
of the Wine-Cellar.*

	m	on	gr	liv	sols	d
One Taster gilt - - - -	0	6	6			
One Salver gilt - - - -	6	2	0			
	7 <sup>m</sup>	0 <sup>on.</sup>	6 <sup>gr</sup>	810	15	0

*The Pantry-Plate in the Custody of  
Simpson and Pemberton.*

	m	on	gr	livres	s	d
Three Spoons, three Forks, and three Knives, gold - - - -	3	7	4	1764	0	0
The Kings Cadenat, gilt - - - -	12 <sup>m</sup>	7 <sup>o</sup>	0 <sup>gr</sup>			

<sup>c</sup> Left with Beddingfield the King's first Barber.

<sup>f</sup> Deliver'd to Roettier towards the making of the Seals abovemention'd of Scotland & Ireland.

	m	o	gr	Value.		
Our Cadenat, gilt - - - - -	12	6	2			
Thirty five Plates gilt - - - - -	76	6	1			
One Mustard Pot and Spoon, gilt -	2	0	2			
Two Sugar-boxes - - - - -	4	2	7			
A Salt, gilt - - - - -	0	3	4			
Four Spoons, four Forks, and four Knives gilt - - - - -	3	4	0			
Four Salts - - - - -	5	3	0			
Eighteen Knives - - - - -	8	6	0			
Twelve Spoons - - - - -	3	3	0			
Eleven Forks - - - - -	3	1	0			
One Ewer - - - - -	6	7	0			
One great Bason - - - - -	19	7	0			
Four carving Forks - - - - -	13	7	2			
One Salver gilt - - - - -	3	6	4			
One Salt gilt - - - - -	0	5	6			
One gilt handled Knife - - - - -	0	1	0			
Two large carving Spoons, gilt - -	1	5	7			
One Cullender - - - - -	0	2	4			
Two Salts or Cuisines - - - - -	4	2	2			

The above parcell of silver Plate being  
part French, part English, is valued at 31<sup>th</sup>  
the Mar. one with the other.

mar.	on.	gr.	liv.		
185	0	1	5735	0	0

*The Scullery Plate in the Custody  
of Menzies.*

	m	on	g r		
Seventy two Plates <sup>z</sup> - - - - -	157	1	2		
One Skellet & Cover - - - - -	9	7	4		
Twelve Spoons, thirteen Forks, & six Salts	10	2	6		
One Soupe Cup or Sallever, gilt, without a Foot - - - - -	5	2	0		

**M R\***

<sup>z</sup> Three Dozin of these Plates, one dozin whereof weighs 24<sup>m</sup> 7°. 3<sup>gr</sup>. the other two dozin weighs 56<sup>m</sup>. 4°. 3<sup>gr</sup>. are in the hands of the Duke of Berwick, as appears by his Note of the 22<sup>th</sup> May 1693 to the said Menzies, yeoman of the Scullery.

\* [This being the bottom of a page, the Queen's initials are placed in her own hand: the enumeration of the scullery plate continuing. E. F.]



	Weight			Value		
	m	on	gr.	ll		
Forty Dishes - - - - -	275	7	5			
One Saucepan - - - - -	7	2	1			
One Scummer and one Ladle - - -	7	4	0			
One gravie Pot - - - - -	5	7	0			
One little Candlestick <sup>i</sup> - - - - -	1	5	4			
Two large Candlesticks - - - - -	6	0	2			
Two lesser Candlesticks - - - - -	2	7	0			
Two new Candlesticks - - - - -	4	1	0			
	m	on	gr	ll		
Weight in all	491	6	2			
All the Scullery Plate valued at 30 <sup>liv</sup> the						
Mar amounts to - - - - -				14813	10	0
<i>Plate in the Custody of William Macdonnel</i>				Value		
<i>Groom of the Great Chamber.</i>				ll		
	m	on	gr	ll		
One large Candlestick, weight - - -	3	1	0	93	15	0
<i>Chappel Plate in the Custody of our Almoner</i>						
<i>Mr. Ronchi.</i>						
	m	on	gr	ll		
Six great Candlesticks for the Altar -	103	2	0	3097	10	0
The rest of the Chappel-Plate consist-						
ing of one Cyborium, one Expositorium,						
one Crucifix, Three Chalices, Two Pa-						
tines, One Bason for the Crewetts, One						
Cross, One Thuribule, a Boat for Incense,						
two little Crewetts, Two Burets & a Bason,						
Wee do not think proper to be estimated						
in this Inventory, as being things appro-						
priated to the Service of God. <sup>k</sup> - - -						
	m	on	g			
	41	5	0			

<sup>i</sup> One little Candlestick weighing 1. mar. 5 onc. 4 gr. & two large Candlesticks weighing 6 mar. 2 gr. deliver'd to Roettier to make the Seales aforesaid; in all deliver'd to him 21 marris.

<sup>k</sup> Note, that the Chappel Plate in Scotland to the Value of about two hundred pounds sterl. was given by Us to support the poor Missioners there.

<sup>l</sup> Of the 41 mar. 5 onces Father Sanders has 6<sup>m</sup>. 4<sup>on</sup>. 4<sup>gr</sup>.

	Weight					
<i>A Case of Travelling Plate in the Comptroller's Custody,</i>						
containing						
One Oval Bason, twelve Trencher Plates, Eight little Dishes, two Water-Pots, one Salver, one Porringer and cover, one Cup and cover, two Salts, one Sugar box, six spoons, six Forks, six Knives, six Tumblers, one Ewer, two Vineger pots and four Candlesticks <sup>m</sup> - - - - -	m	onc	gr			
	68	6	6	2203	0	0
Also two gilt Cups, with one Cover, which do not belong to the above Service - - - - -				ll		
	2	1	0	68	0	0
These two Parcels of Plate in the Comptroller's custody, being French plate are valued at 32 livers the mar.						
<i>Linnen belonging to the late Kings Bed Chamber.</i>						
Four pair of old fine Sheets, and four Pillowbers <sup>n</sup> - - - - -						
<i>Table Linnen in the Custody of the Yeoman of the Pantry.<sup>o</sup></i>						
Forty eight Damask Table Clothes						
Ninty three dozin of Damask Napkins						
Forty eight Diaper Table Clothes for the Side Boord						
Fifteen Diaper Table Clothes for the Gentlemen Waiters Table						
Thirty Dozin of Diaper Napkins for the Gentlemen Waiters Table						
valued				livers		
				700	0	0

<sup>m</sup> This Service of Plate is marked with the King of France his Armes; and was given to the late King when he went into Ireland.

<sup>n</sup> Divided amongst the Grooms of the Bed-Chamber.

<sup>o</sup> All very much worn.



*Armes in the Custody of Delatre.*

Two Suits of Armor back & brest	} valued	11	1000	0	0
Two Caskes					
One Gantelet					
Nine Case of Pistols					
Fourteen Guns <sup>p</sup>					

*In the Custody of Hatfield, the Upholsterer*

A red Feild-Bed of water tabby with gold fringe	} valued	11	250		
Two Quilts & two Blankets, hang- ings of 9 little peeces of y <sup>e</sup> same Silk					
A Feather bed and Bolster, and Silk Counterpan					
A silk green and white Field Bed and Furniture, valued - - - -		11	150		

*In the Preacher's Room.*

A green Serge Bed	} valued	11	200	0	0
Two quilts, and two Blanketts					
Four peeces of Point de Hongerie hangings					
Six Chaires, a Table, and a Looking Glass					
A Bed for a Servant with two Quilts, two Blankets & a Green hoase, valued -		11	60	0	0

*In the Stables.*

Four Sadle Horses and Furniture	2500				
Four old Chaise Horses					
And an old Chaise. <sup>q</sup>					

<sup>p</sup> Of the Guns one is in the hands of Mr. Bidulp Grom of the Bed Chamber, lent to him by the late King, and two have been given by the present King, one to Mr. Booth Groom of the Bed Chamber, and an other to Mr. Bidulph the Querry.

<sup>q</sup> Disposed of by the Querrys. The Coaches and Coach Horses did all belong to Us or the Prince of Wales in the Kings life-time, & therefore are not returned or valued in this Inventory.

<i>In our Owne Closet.</i>			
<i>Severall things belonging to the late King.</i>			
	ii		
Money in gold & silver, about <sup>q</sup> - -	3000	0	0
Two pair of Diamond Buttons for the Shirt <sup>r</sup> - - - - -	4500	0	0
One Ruby Ring, having a cross ingraven on it, with which the late King was crown'd - - - - -	ii		
	1500	0	0
One little diamond Seal - - -	160	0	0
One little Emerald Seal <sup>s</sup> - - -	90	0	0
Five Gold Watches } <sup>t</sup> - - - - -			
One Silver Watch } - - - - -	700	0	0
Two old Clocks - - - - -	200	0	0
Three Meddals of the Order of S <sup>t</sup> . Andrew in gold <sup>u</sup> - - - - -			
Two Georges or Meddalls of the Order of the Garter, one valued - - -	ii		
	11000	0	0
The other valued - - - - -	2000	0	0
A Coller of the Order with a George to it of Diamonds - - - - -	6000	0	0
Two Garters of the Order, one valued -	2500	0	0
The other valued <sup>x</sup> - - - - -	1600	0	0

Note that all our owne Jewells & Chamber-Plate were brought safe out of England as appears by a list of them now in our hands, whereof to the value of 159128 livres have been sold partly in the late Kings time, and partly since, as may be seen by the dates of the

<sup>q</sup> Employ'd in Masses & Services.

<sup>r</sup> Now worn by our most dear son the present King.

<sup>s</sup> This Ring and these two Seales now in the present Kings possession.

<sup>t</sup> One of the gold Watches the present King hath, & the Princess hath the silver one, both by the late King's appointment, & Father Sanders hath another Gold Watch by gift from Us.

<sup>u</sup> Not here apprais'd being kept for such as shall hereafter be created Knights of that Order.

<sup>x</sup> These are Enseigns of Honour & are now in the present Kings possession together with eleven small Seals, some cut in steel the others in stones of litle price, and twelve meddalls or modern heads in gold and silver of no great value.



*A List of Jewells sold.*

	Value		
A large Diamond of the Prince of Wales,	y		
sold in January 1698 -	4200	0	0 <sup>c</sup>
A Diamond         -         -         -         - sold in February ditto	7000	0	0
Two Pearles       -       -       -       - sold in May ditto -   -	1000	0	0
A Diamond         -         -         -         - sold in June ditto -   -	7000	0	0
Two Pearles       -       -       -       - sold in October ditto -	8000	0	0
A parcell of Gold Plate   -   - sold in December ditto	6128	0	0
A Bodkin with one Diamond - sold in September 1700	16000	0	0
A Pair of Diamond Pendants - sold in October ditto -	15000	0	0
Seven Diamond attaches -   - sold in December ditto	19000	0	0
'Two pair of Diamond Buttons of the present King sold in December 1701       -       -       -       -       -       -	3600	0	0
A Diamond Girdle, Buckle, and twelve Buttons and Loops       -       -       -       -       - sold in June 1702. -	21000	0	0
A pair of Diamond Shoe-Buckles sold in August ditto -	3000	0	0
Two Diamond Attaches   -       - sold in November ditto	48000	0	0
One Coulant of a Diamond Crosse with the middle stone of the said Cross <sup>z</sup> -   - sold in April 1703 - -	8000	0	0
	166928	0	0
<i>In the Kitchen and other Offices.</i>			
Brass, Copper, & Pewter -   -   -   -   -   - valued in all	600	0	0 <sup>c</sup>

M. R.

<sup>2</sup> The other five stones of the said Cro-se valued at 6000 H., are made into a Buckle of a Girdle.

On the back of the Inventory are the following entries :

“ Memorandum in the marginall Note upon the Article of the Stables in the within Inventory, it is sayd, that all the Coaches and Coach-horses belonged to Our selfe or the Prince of Wales, in the Kings life-time. Now it appears that the Travelling Coach for four persons belonged to the late King, as did also the old sett of gray horses the Prince of Wales made use of, both valued at that time about three thousand livers, but now the horses are all worne out to three, & they not much worth. This we have thought fitt to endorse & firme with our owne Signature, willing it to be taken and deemed as part of the said Inventory, this twentieth Day of August 1703.

M. R.

The within Inventory, We do hereby in the presence of our s<sup>d</sup> most dear Son King James the Third, a Legatee in the said Will nam'd, and of the subscribing Witnesses hereunto, whome we have purposly ordered and appointed to be present at our making this Inventory, affirme to be true and just to the best of our knowledge & understanding. In testimony whereof We have firm'd the same with our signe Manuall and Seale at Armes the said two and twentieth day of July in the Yeare of our Lord One Thousand seven hundred & three, new style, and in the second Yeare of the Reigne of Our said most dear Son James the third King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. At the Castle of S'. Germain en Laye where Our most dear Lord & Husband King James the Second of ever blessed memory dyed on the sixteenth day of September 1701 new style.

MARIA R.”





Memorandum that wee, whose names ensue, being satisfied in all & every the particulars of the within Inventory, and being present at the Queens Majesties firming the same with her signe Manuall and Seale at Armes, have, by her Majesties command, in her own presence, and in the presence of his Majestie King James the Third hereunto sign'd our Names as Witnesses.

PERTH,  
CARYLL

MONMOUTH & MIDDLETON,  
FRA. PLOWDEN  
ROB<sup>T</sup>. POWER."

XXIII. *Queen Elizabeth's Remarks on the Conduct of those who pressed her to name a Successor to the Crown in 1566. Communicated by HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary, in a Letter to SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. V. P.*

Read May 4th, 1815.

DEAR SIR,

British Museum,  
May 4th, 1815.

I HAVE more than once had the honour to lay before the Society of Antiquaries Transcripts of Letters and other Papers from a very curious volume in the Lansdown Collection of Manuscripts at the British Museum. There is another Paper in that volume, to which I beg to call the Society's attention: it is a fragment of a public document, with some remarks at the foot of it in the running hand of Queen Elizabeth.

As early as 1563, the partizans of the Queen of Scots in this country had raised a general cry for some settlement of the succession; and the House of Commons voted an address to Queen Elizabeth, in which, after enumerating the evils which had been experienced in former times from contending titles, they entreated her Majesty that a successor might be named, at least appointed by an act of parliament. The answer which the House received on this memorable occasion is thus noticed in its Journals. (Vol. i. p. 65.)

*" Martis 16<sup>o</sup> Februarii.*

" Mr. Comptroller and Mr. Secretary declared from the Queen's Highness that she doubted not but the grave Heads of this House did right well consider that she forgot not the suit of this House for the Succession, the matter being so weighty, nor could forget it; but she willed the young Heads to take example of the ancients."

In 1566, the birth of a son to Mary Queen of Scots gave additional zeal to those of her friends in England who had formerly been



so active; and our historians have been minute in their details respecting the earnestness which marked the debates in the House of Commons on the subject in Queen Elizabeth's second parliament.

The document which I have here transcribed appears to have formed the close of an Address presented to the Queen at this time upon offering to her Majesty the subsidy, in granting which the House of Commons had ingeniously mixed it with the subject of the Succession.

It begins abruptly.

"Thyrdly we cannot but also thankfully remember to your Maiestye that it pleased the same to signifye vnto vs that youe did not myslyke of vs for our desyre in this parliament to have the Successor of the Crowne declared, for that youe rightly conceaved the same our desyre to procede from us (as in dede it dyd) of mere dutye and love towards your Highnes, your realmes, and countries, and not of any other dysposytyon or pretended purpose; and signyfyed further, of your godly dysposytyon and naturall love towards vs, to our gret comforte, that rather than your Realme shold threte ruyn for lack of declaracōn of succession which you trusted almightye God wold shewe of yo<sup>r</sup> owne bodye in due tyme after your maryage, you wold by gods helpe though it shold appere some perell to yourselfe (which god defende) declare the Succession, in svche convenyent tyme as your Highnes with thadvyse of your counsell and assent of your Realme shold thinke most mete, in suche person as in whome the right therof accordinge to law and justice ought to be settled and remayn to the joyfull comforte of vs all. And so havinge with your Majesties favour presented to the same in the forefront of our small but a most fre and wyllynge gyft theis our most humble recognytions, we do lykewyse beseche your Majestie to receave the rest that foloweth as the fructs of our faythfulnes and bounden love that we beare to your Majestie, and that it may be enacted in forme folowenge."

Here follow two lines in cypher, in a small hand, with the date A. 1566; apparently the writing of Lord Burleigh.

The Queen's Remarks follow these, in a hurried hand.

“ Let thes two concernings into one mening, and my counsell is all giuen, let not other regard them selues so holy as I have no corner left for me. Let them knowe that I knewe, thogh I folowed not, that some of them wold my pure conscience better served me than ther lewde practises could auaille with me. I knowe no reason whi any my privat answers to the realme shuld serve for prologe to a subsidy vote; neither yet do i understand why suche audacitie shuld be used to make without my licence an Acte of my wordes, or my wordes like lawiers bokes wiche now a dayes go to the wiar drawers to make subtall doings more plain. Is ther no hold of my speche without an Acte compel me to confirme. Shall my princely consent be turned to strengthen my wordes that be not of them selves substantives. Say no more at this time, but if thes felowes wer wel answered and payed with lawfull coyne ther wold be fewer counterfaits amonge them.”

Such appears to have been the answer which laid the subject of the succession at rest for the remainder of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

I am, dear Sir,

Sincerely yours,

HENRY ELLIS.





*Here the ruins commence.*

*Presumed Ancient Limit of Babylon Northward.*

Road

of the Site of  
**ANCIENT BABYLON**  
Drawn  
chiefly from the Information contained  
in the Memoir of Claudius Rich Esq.  
Road  
"The whole Country between Moho

by James Rennell.

**Mujelibé:**

*Supposed Tower of Belus.*

*Mound like a Rampart*

... Yorks.

Two Mounds  
of Earth

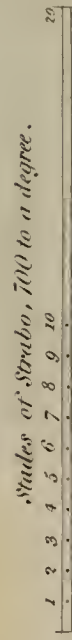
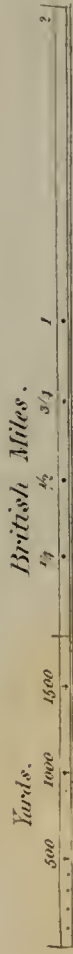
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Explanation.

- A—Mound of the Kass', or  
Principal Palace,-----  
B—Mound of Aurun,-----  
C—Mound of the Embankment,  
D—Northeastern Mound, or  
Lesser Palace,-----  
E—The Red Mound,-----  
F—An ancient course of the  
Euphrates,-----



II — supposed ancient course  
of the Euphrates, between  
the Mounds of the supposed  
Palaces; &c.



A.B. It is suspected that the Variation, 9 or 10 degrees Westwardly, is not allowed in M. Rich's Plan.

West  $27^{\circ} 30'$  South, (Nippur, 10 British Miles, (M. Rich's))

Nimroud Birs;  
or Tower of Nimrod.





XXIV. *On the Topography of Ancient Babylon: suggested by the recent Observations and Discoveries of Claudius James Rich, Esq.* By MAJOR RENNELL.

Read 14th and 21st December, 1815.

\* \* \* It may be proper to observe, at the outset, that References are made to two distinct Plans: the one, of the great central Ruins by Mr. Rich; the other, a Sketch, made by the Author of the Paper. This latter includes the entire site, of what is taken for Ancient Babylon. The former is always referred to, as the *Plan*; the latter, as the *Sketch*. The Letter-press referred to, is always that of Mr. Rich's Memoir.

THE very interesting Memoir of Mr. Claudius Rich, on the Remains of ANCIENT BABYLON, having a tendency, as well from the facts set forth, in it, concerning the present State of the Site of that City, as from his Reasonings on them, to occasion doubts respecting the established opinions that have been entertained, on the authority of the Ancient Historians; it appeared to be almost a required duty from myself to the Publick, as having already written on the subject, to vindicate the consistency and truth of Ancient History; (as well as that of my own Statement, which was conformable to it :) for if all the Remains of Ancient Babylon, are found on one and the same side of the Euphrates, as Mr. Rich reports them to be; either that River must have altered its course, in that particular place, or the Statements of the Ancients must be wrong.

But, independent of this motive, I really wish to place the very interesting and curious facts brought to our Notice by Mr. Rich's Researches, in the clearest and most useful point of view; so as to endeavour by their aid, to develope on the site itself, the general extent of this highly ancient City, and the distribution of its principal

Structures ; as set forth by the abovesaid ancient Authorities. For Mr. Rich appears to have employed much time, labour, and expence on the occasion ; to have entered on his Researches without prejudice ; to have prosecuted them with much zeal ; and finally, to have reported them faithfully. He is indeed the first person who has given any correct Ideas concerning the nature of the Remains, and in what they consist : and has given more particulars concerning the Remains of the supposed Tower of Belus, than Della Valle or Beauchamp ; who appear to have viewed them in too hasty a manner, to be enabled to furnish a detailed description.<sup>a</sup> He gives also some new Information, respecting the general position, and extent of the remains of Babylon, at large:<sup>b</sup> and in his Account of the *Nimroud Birs*, or Tower of

<sup>a</sup> It is true that M. de Beauchamp says, “ the Ruins extend several leagues to the north of Hillah ; and incontestably mark the situation of Ancient Babylon : ” but this is so vaguely and indistinctly given, that the Idea has been applied, exclusively, to the Mujelibè, and the other Mounds near it. M. de Beauchamp does not appear to have observed the Mounds between the Mujelibè and Mohawill.

<sup>b</sup> The details concerning those Remains, will be found in page 7, and page 20, & seq. of the Memoir of Mr. Rich.

In the line between Mohawill and Hillah, which is supposed to pass thro' the centre of the Area of *Ancient Babylon*, from North to South, \* traces of buildings are discovered in detached Mounds of Rubbish, strewed with the fragments of bricks and bitumen, through a space of about 9 Miles.

Towards the centre of this space, besides a remarkable ruin, taken for that of the *Tower of Belus*, Mounds of vast magnitude and extent, are seen, formed of the ruins, and decomposed materials of buildings ; all of which have been dug into, more or less, in search of Bricks ; and have their surfaces strewed with fragments of brick, bitumen, and pottery ; and are deeply furrowed by channels, made by the running off of the rain water.

One of these Mounds in particular, appears to be composed of the remains of buildings, far superior to all the rest, by the fineness of the bricks, and the goodness of the lime mortar : and the surface has on it, in addition to the substances generally found on the other Mounds, fragments of alabaster vessels, fine earthen ware, marble, and great quantities of varnished tiles. And notwithstanding that in latter times, the greatest supplies of bricks have been drawn from this Mound, they appear still to be abundant.

It is conceived that the Mound in question, contains the ruins of the Great Palace, described by Herodotus and Diodorus.

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\* See the accompanying *Sketch*.



*Nimrod*, he presents a subject, which, in point of description, is perfectly *novel*; although its name and position had been long known, from the Travels of the celebrated M. Niebuhr.

But Mr. Rich, having entertained a suspicion that the Tower of *Nimrod*, was the representative of that of *Belus*, appears to have given up the advantages of a part of his discoveries; and has thereby left the principal matter, to float in uncertainty. With a knowledge of the northern and southern extremities of the general Remains; and of the position of the *Mujelibè* (the Tower of Belus of Della Valle and Beauchamp), in the centre of them; much might have been done towards the progress of developement of the general Plan and extent. Perhaps, had he adverted to the circumstance of a small change of course of the Euphrates, through the Ruins, the prominent objects would have appeared to him to fall at once into their proper places: and with a conviction of the Identity of the *Mujelibè*, with the Tower of *Belus*, which might immediately have followed; he might have been encouraged to proceed from it, as from a centre, in order to search after the places of the exterior walls and ditches; which being once found, even in part only, would set the general questions of site and extent, fully at rest.

It appears to me, that in the act of considering the site and distribution of the Remains of this Ancient City, two circumstances arise, that must not be lost sight of: the one, the probable change of course of the River; the other, that the whole of the Remains, visible in the form of *Mounds*, &c. do not belong exclusively, to the Ancient City; but in part, to a subsequent Establishment, not recorded in History: and perhaps of a date previous to the Mahomedan Conquest. For it is difficult to reconcile the circular, and other Mounds of Earth, with the description of the regular distribution of streets, in Ancient Babylon.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See the accompanying *Plan* of the site of the principal Remains of Babylon, by Mr. Rich: as also the *Sketch* of the general extent of those Remains; and of the supposed change in the course of the Euphrates.

Two minor points of difference will appear, between the received accounts of the Ancients, and the facts, as they appear from the Report of Mr. Rich. The one, that the Tower of Belus, and the principal Palace, could not have stood *opposite* to each other, in respect of the general course of the River: and the other, that the *base* of the Tower of Belus, was not a *Square*, but a *Parallelogram*.

It would no doubt, be *begging the question*, to assume, in the first instance, that the Euphrates had changed its course; and that it once ran thro' the narrow space, between the Mound of the *Kasr*,<sup>a</sup> and the mass of ruins situated to the northeastward of it; unless I first brought forward some kind of evidence, to shew the probability of it: as, that the several particulars of the Remains on the site, required only the presence of the River, in a particular line of course, to complete the general description, given by the Ancients: and that such a change of course appears likely to have taken place. For instance, that the *Mujelibè* really occupies a central position, amongst the extensive remains, which may be taken for those of Ancient Babylon; as the *Tower of Belus* did, in former times, in the existing City; that the same *Mujelibè* may well pass for the Remains of that Tower; and that two Mounds or Masses of Ruins, that appear on the Plan, may be taken for those of the two Palaces, described by Diodorus; only that the river does not separate them, as the history describes; the narrow space between the Mounds now forming a part of the Plain. For as I have said, according to the Plan of the Ground, and principal Remains, by Mr. Rich, (and which I can have no doubt, are strictly conformable to the truth,) all the Remains are on the same side of the Euphrates; that is, the *eastern* side; (for I lay out of the question, *at present*, the *Nimroud Birs*, which is about  $8\frac{1}{2}$  miles distant from the *Mujelibè*). Therefore, if the Euphrates has not changed its course, in a small degree, the Ancients, who have left accounts of the arrangement and distribution of the principal Structures, in Babylon, have only been amusing us with fairy Tales!

<sup>a</sup> See again the *Plan* of Babylon.



I shall now proceed to state certain facts, collected from Mr. Rich's Memoir and Plan, (in which they are very fairly set forth,) in order to shew the probability of a change of course of the River; which has now left all the principal Remains on the eastern side: although the principal Palace, and the hanging Gardens certainly stood on the opposite side to the Temple and Tower of Belus.

Mr. Rich states (page 7) that in his way from Baghdad towards Hillah, [in a southerly direction], he came to *Mohawill*, a Khan, or Caravanserai; "close to which, is a large Canal with a Bridge over it: "beyond this, every thing announces an approach to the remains of "a large City. *The Ruins of Babylon may in fact be said almost to "commence from this spot; the whole Country between it and Hillah, "exhibiting at intervals, traces of building, in which are discoverable "burnt and unburnt bricks and bitumen: three Mounds in particular, "attract attention, from their magnitude"——"Hillah is nine miles "from Mohawill."*

He also says (page 28,) that "at a mile distant from the north of "the Kasr" (taken for the remains of the principal Palace), "and "full five miles distant from Hillah, is the *Mujelibè*." As this latter is known to lie nearly in the direct line, between Mohawill and Hillah, it must of course be about 4 miles distant from the former. [His detail, however, referring to page 17, and to the Plan, gives rather  $4\frac{3}{4}$  miles than 5 from Hillah; leaving of course,  $4\frac{1}{4}$  miles to Mohawill]. But taking it either way, the *Mujelibè* falls within a quarter, or half a mile, of the *middle point* of the space, occupied by the heaps of ruins; and which, as we have seen, is nine miles in length: that is, somewhat within the extent allowed by Strabo, to the square of Babylon; but somewhat more, than what Diodorus gives,

\* This description of traces of buildings, occurring *at intervals*, appears to agree with the ancient accounts of Babylon—that the ground inclosed by the walls was only partially built on. The heaps, no doubt, are made up of decomposed bricks, bitumen, and mortar: the whole Bricks having generally disappeared, in places where they were easily got at; and from the nature of the cement used; (that is, *bitumen*), easily separated.

from Ctesias, and others. But niceties are out of the question, here, where all is from computation, and judgment; and not from actual mensuration.

Mr. Rich has mentioned a large Canal at Mohawill. This is also remarked by other Travellers; but without combining with it the circumstance of *the commencement of the ruins*, near that place. Admitting these to be, as Mr. Rich concludes, a part of the remains of Ancient Babylon, what is more probable, than that the Canal should be the exterior fosse of that City? The line of direction of the Canal, is not mentioned; but ought to be inquired into; as also, whether there be a Mound on that side of it, towards the site of Babylon; which might be expected, if the line of direction agreed. But, at all events, the traces of the Wall and Ditch may probably be looked for, near the place of commencement of the ruins.

The Mujelibè then, may be allowed to occupy such a general position amongst these Remains; admitted by Mr. Rich, to be those of Ancient Babylon; as the Tower of Belus did, in the Ancient City itself.

I shall not trouble this learned Society, with Quotations from Della Valle, Beauchamp, and Rich, containing descriptions of the Mujelibè; as they are so easily referred to; and would therefore swell the Paper unnecessarily. It may suffice to say, that according to every description; and more particularly to that of Mr. Rich, himself, including his excellent drawings of it; the ruin presents very much the appearance of being the remains of such a Structure, as the descriptions of the Tower of Belus would lead us to expect. Not that, had we only viewed the Ruin, and had been ignorant of the reports concerning its ancient form, one could have guessed it to have been such as it was described: but that, knowing the original form, one may reconcile to his mind, that it may well be the remains of such a Structure.<sup>a</sup> That the matter of the upper Stories is wanting, may

<sup>a</sup> See the drawings of its four fronts, at the end of the Memoir of Mr. Rich.



with ease be accounted for. The principal Mass was probably formed of *Sun-dried* Bricks; with a *coating* of those, *baked* in the *furnace*. The latter have been removed, for use; the former dissolved by rain, or carried away by the winds, in a pulverized state (being nothing more than earth): for this Tower was in ruins so long ago as the date of Alexander's visit; when it was said, that it would require the labour of ten thousand men during two months, to remove the rubbish. The deep channels, made by the running off of the rain water, with which it is every where deeply furrowed, prove how much it has been acted on by the rain: and most of all, on the western side, which is the most exposed to the prevalent rainy winds. And this surely tends to prove, that the Mound must have been artificial: for the quantity of rain water that could possibly fall on so limited a space, as the area of the Mound, would not have worn away a natural Hill, in so great a degree.<sup>a</sup>

Little more, therefore, need be said, in respect of the probability of this venerable Ruin, being the Tower of Belus; of a date possibly, that may remount almost to the earliest period of post-diluvian History. But although Mr. Rich's description affords full conviction; our curiosity is by no means yet satisfied.

It is very possible, that a part of the remains of the external walling now seen, may be of a date, long subsequent to that of the erection of the Tower. The semicircular Mound of Earth, described by Mr. Rich (page 17), and which embraces the principal Remains, within a diameter of about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles, appears to have been the Rampart of a *new* Babylon, of reduced dimensions: but of whose History, we know nothing. It may clearly be seen by the *Plan*, and description (page 17) that the termination of this Rampart, northward,

<sup>a</sup> It must certainly be taken into the Account, that the ground adjacent to this ruin must have been raised, by the matter washed down from it by the Rain; particularly on the west side. Yet the South east angle is still more than 140 feet above the Plain. The height of the other parts, we are not told. Much more is required to be known, concerning it.

points directly towards the south-eastern angle of the Mujelibè (and appears to have actually joined it, according to Mr. Rich's account,) thus making it serve the purpose of a *Bastion, Place of Arms, or Citadel*: and it was by no means, a bad design. The Rampart was doubtless extended to the river bank, wheresoever it might have been, at that time; as on the opposite side of the Circle. Now, I have an idea, that when the Turks call the Mujelibè the *Kalaa*, or Citadel, they allude to the use that had latterly been made of the Ruin, in the state it then was; and which had been handed down, by tradition. And hence, there may have been some alterations introduced, in order to adapt it the better to its new character.

It appears pretty certain from the dimensions of the ruins, that the Tower (admitting the Mujelibè to be such), could never have been raised on an *equilateral* Base; since accident cannot be supposed to have occasioned such a difference between the length of the sides that face the North and South, and those that face the East and West; and which have at a mean, a difference of about one fourth part. So that the ruin is a *Parallelogram*, whose longest sides lie East and West. This is a circumstance quite unexpected: and serves to shew, that Herodotus took for granted that it was equilateral; as he did, that the Great Palace and Tower of Belus stood directly opposite to each other, across the River: for which latter mistake, however, some excuse may possibly be offered.<sup>a</sup> As the circumference of the Tower, appears to have been nearly about four stadia; (that is, in its present ruined state, it is 2111 feet, by Mr. Rich's account, page 49,) perhaps, Herodotus and others contented themselves with that result; and *concluded* that the sides were equal.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> That is, if the River had, at the time he saw it, deviated from its straight course, through the City: or had not originally been made so.

<sup>b</sup> See the Memoir of Mr. Rich, pages 28, and 49. The Base must confessedly be larger now, than in its original state; and yet it is no more in circumference than 2111 English feet. Consequently, in its *present* state, it would give no more than 528 English feet, to the Stade; and probably, in its perfect state, less than 500. The Stade of Strabo was about 530.



With respect to the Coffins and Skeletons found in the kind of Gallery, that runs along its northern face, I confess I have no opinion to offer. It is possible that the Coffins may not be of a very early date: but that the Gallery, or Passage of the Tower, had been converted into a Place of Sepulture. (See the Memoir, pages 31, and 32).

The two *straight* Mounds of Earth, running parallel to each other, towards the middle part of the circular Inclosure, are also, no doubt, of a later date than that of Ancient Babylon. Their use, it may be difficult to discover; unless they were Dams to prevent Inundations of the River; if ever it took its Course in that direction. The termination of one of them, in a vast heap, of a curious red colour, will be spoken of, afterwards.

I shall next consider the position of the Remains, which may be taken for those of the Palaces: first stating what has been said, on the subject, by the Ancients.

Herodotus describes only *one* Palace; Diodorus, *two*: that is, the *principal* one, on one side of the River, and the *lesser* one, on the other side; the two communicating with each other, by a *Bridge* above, and by a *Tunnel* under the River bed. Probably, the Palace mentioned by Herodotus, may be the same with the *principal* one spoken of by Diodorus; whence the latter should have been on the same side of the River, with the Temple and Tower of Belus: and which I have formerly ventured to suppose, in common with M. D'Anville and others, to have been situated on the *East* side. For it appeared to me, to be strongly implied in Diodorus; and yet stronger in Herodotus, where the *Belidian* Gate is evidently placed in the eastern side of Babylon. And I confess I do not perceive a more plausible reason for the Name, than that of its being opposite to so famous a Structure; altho' it be more common, in all Countries, to name the Gates of a City, or fortress, from the distant places to which they lead, than to any object within. But Gates have also *proper Names*, without any reference to Communications.

Herodotus assigns to the Temple of Belus, and to the Palace, the central part of each of the two divisions of Babylon, made by the Passage of the Euphrates: or rather, they might be said to have occupied a central position in that quarter of each division, situated towards the River. Diodorus places the Temple in the centre: but is silent respecting the positions of the Palaces; only saying that the bridge was built over the *narrowest* part of the River; and the Palaces, at each end of the Bridge. As we cannot but admit the existence of *two* Palaces, after the circumstantial details, respecting them; a doubt arises, whether the Temple or the Palaces, occupied the centre! In this uncertainty, it may perhaps be allowable to place the Temple and Tower in the centre; since Herodotus and Diodorus are agreed in that point: and accordingly regard the Mujelibè as that centre; although it be of no particular Import, in the present deficient State of our Information, which of the two is adopted.

According to the Plan and Description of Mr. Rich, in which, all the remains are on the same side of the River, with the Mujelibè, there cannot, of course, be any ruins opposite to it, to answer to the principal Palace. But, on a supposition that the river has altered its Course, such remains are to be found; tho' not *in front* of the Mujelibè, as Herodotus reports of the Temple and Tower.

Four Mounds (besides the Mujelibè), constituting the principal remains of Ancient Babylon, appear on Mr. Rich's Plan; three of which, only, he has described, in his Memoir: and of these, the one named from the *Kasr* or *Palace* (meaning the *principal* Palace) is supposed by him, very justly, in my opinion, to answer to the remains of that Structure. This opinion is grounded on the vast extent of the Ground Plan; the solidity of the Walls; and the superior quality of the materials and workmanship; together with various articles, and fragments of utensils, that have been found there; indicating the residence of Persons of a superior Class. (See the Memoir, pages 22, and 23.)<sup>a</sup> This however, is to be understood to relate to the *Mound*,

<sup>a</sup> M. de Beauchamp says, "Black Stones with Inscriptions engraved on them, are also



itself; and not to the *Ruin*, named *Kasr*; concerning which, more will be said in the sequel.

Now, this Mound is situated at a full mile to the southward of the Mujelibè: and although the *general Course* of the River, in this quarter, is between the SSE, and SEbS,<sup>a</sup> (in which direction one may conclude it was conducted thro' the artificial Cut, said to have been made by Semiramis;) yet still the mound in question, could not have been less than *three fourths of a mile* below the point, opposite to the Mujelibè; the supposed Tower of Belus. Consequently, there being no other remains whatsoever, in that quarter, the statement of Herodotus, respecting the relative positions of the Temple and Palace, must be erroneous; and that of Diodorus, probably more exact, when he places the Temple and Tower in the centre, and the Palaces in some other situation; where they were, of course, opposite to each other; being joined together by the Bridge.

But in order to admit this Mound of the Kasr to be the remains of the Great Palace; a change of Course of the Euphrates, must necessarily be admitted, also: And this is surely more probable, than that the Ancient Authors should have been so greatly mistaken: especially when the disposition of the several objects on the site, is such, as that it only requires the presence of the River, to complete the description. A change of 5 or 6 times the breadth of the River, is all that is contended for: and even now, there may be traced on the Plan, an ancient bed of the River; which it probably filled, on its departure from its supposed line of course, between the Mounds: and which Bed, it appears to have afterwards deserted, for the one it

“met with,” there. One of these, a species of Jasper, so well polished, and so distinctly engraved, that it printed like a Copper Plate, was sent home by Sir Harford Jones. It is in the Possession of Sir Hugh Inglis.

<sup>a</sup> The present course of the Euphrates, through the Ruins, is Southwardly. It is not known whether Mr. Rich allowed the Variation of the Magnetic Needle in his Plan. This may be about 9 or 10 degrees, westerly, in that quarter. So that, if it be not allowed, the *North* of the Plan must be reckoned N.  $9\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  West.

now occupies; the River continuing to this time, to verge to the westward, in that place; and for this we have the testimony of Mr. Rich, (page 18.)

To those accustomed to study, on the spot, the wandering Courses of Rivers, and the effects often produced on their banks, in alluvial Soils, nothing is more familiar than such Changes; especially when, as in the present Case, they are obstructed by the ruins of a bridge; and subject to be in part choaked up, by the falling in of ruins, from their banks; and by the continual washing down of the finer parts of the Rubbish. In the course of my observations, I have found that no cause operates more powerfully in diverting the courses of Streams, than fallen Ruins.<sup>a</sup> More will be said, respecting this Ancient River Bed, in the sequel.

Admitting then, so probable a Change, I shall beg leave to consider the Mound that lies immediately to the Northeast of the Kasr, as the remains of the *lesser* Palace; which was separated from the other, only by the River and Bridge. The space indeed, between the two mounds, is at present not much more than two thirds of the breadth of the Euphrates, (as given by Mr. Rich, at 150 yards, page 13); but may have been reduced, by the just mentioned accidents.<sup>b</sup> The *direction* of the opening, is also favorable to the supposition of a change.

Mr. Rich has either not yet examined, or has not prepared, any Account of this Northeastern Mound. To judge from the Plan, it seems as if it were flatter, or less prominent, than the others; as if the materials were more decomposed, from time. The only circumstance given, that applies to any part of it, is the following; which respects a vast Mass, lying in a line with, and at the northern termination, of one of the two long mounds beforementioned: and which Mr. Rich appears to regard as a portion of it. He calls it (page 19,)

<sup>a</sup> Signor Balbi, in his navigation down the Euphrates in 1579, found the Navigation very much impeded by the ruins of buildings fallen into the River, above Annah:

<sup>b</sup> He says that the breadth of the River varies, in its course thro' the Ruins. On the Plan, it is commonly 200 yards.



“ a high heap of rubbish, of a curious red colour, nearly 300 yards long, and 100 broad, terminating on the top, in a ridge.<sup>a</sup> It has been dug into, in various parts, but few or no fine whole bricks have been found in it.” This one can only regard as a vast mass of decomposed red bricks: and if the decomposition be the effect of time, it would imply that the lesser Palace (if of such, this may be taken for a part,) is of much higher Antiquity than the other.

From the scanty notices given, respecting the *southern* Mound, or Mound of Amran, (see page 21), it is difficult to form an opinion, whether it did, or did not, originally constitute one mass, with that of the Kasr; and that the *low space* between them, “ covered with rank grass, and crossed by a line of ruins, of *very little elevation*,”<sup>b</sup> (see page 22) has not been reduced to that state, by the action of the Euphrates, in varying its course through it, from one side of it, to the other, at different periods: or, at least, that those Mounds approximated towards each other, more than at present. For, doubtless, the *southern* side of the Mound of the Kasr, looks in the Plan, as if it had been worn away, by the stream; as the *western* side, evidently does; as having formed one of the banks of the *deserted* bed of the same River. Again, the northern side of the Mound of Amran, appears also to have been acted on, by the Stream. I conclude that these operations took place, previous to the formation of the *circular Rampart*; and that the long Mound on the west, which connects this Mound of Amran, with that of the Kasr, was made at the same time with the circular one; whether as a part of the military defences, alone; or as a Dam, to prevent Inundations; as the River, at that period, passed, as I conceive, (from the arrangement of another part of the Mound,) thro’ the *deserted* bed, so often mentioned. Or, it might have been, to answer both purposes.

<sup>a</sup> As Mr. Rich had no opportunity of correcting the Press, it is possible that the numbers may be wrong. They evidently appear to be so, in some parts of the Memoir.

<sup>b</sup> A part, perhaps, of too great solidity for the Stream to dissolve, or to remove.

I shall close these observations on the site of Ancient Babylon, with some further remarks on this deserted Bed of the Euphrates: as the existence of it, not only shews that the river has, in one instance, at least, entirely changed its Course thro' the Ruins, in that part; but that it has also had some considerable effect on the present distribution and state of these mounds.

Mr. Rich thus describes it, (page 27:) “ The Embankment of  
“ the River is separated from the Mounds of Amran and the Kasr,  
“ by a *winding Valley* or *Ravine*, 150 yards in breadth; the bottom  
“ of which is white with nitre, and apparently never had any build-  
“ ings in it, except a *small circular heap*, in the centre of it”——  
This, as I have said before, has every character of a river bed: and is moreover, precisely of the same breadth with the Euphrates: that is, 150 yards; as it has already been stated, from the authority of Mr. Rich (page 13).

This ancient bed is traceable thro' a course of about a mile and half: and it commences, not very far below the point, from whence the River may be supposed to have departed from the general course, which it held through the site of the Ancient City; and through the narrow Pass, between the two mounds, taken for the remains of the Palaces. In its progress, it has evidently sapped the great southern mound, (or that of Amran): and the *circular heap* abovementioned, is no doubt, a portion of that mound, which was perhaps, a mass of masonry, too well consolidated, to be dissolved, or removed.<sup>a</sup> And accordingly, the mound named by Mr. Rich, (page 18) the Embankment, has been cut off, from that of Amran.<sup>b</sup> It is probable too, that the River, in its present course, has taken away a considerable portion of the Mound of the *Embankment*; which is at present in a state

<sup>a</sup> I have seen in the Ganges, far out in the strongest part of the Stream, a building which had stood there for a great number of years; and may perhaps, be still there.

<sup>b</sup> See also the *Plan* of Mr. Rich.



of dilapidation, from the encroachment of the Stream on it. (See page 28.)

Few Persons, conversant with the nature of Rivers, and their changes, will for a moment hesitate to receive the internal evidence, contained in the Plan and Description, in proof of this Valley or Ravine, being a deserted Bed of the Euphrates: and proving the tendency of that River, in common with all others that pass thro' alluvial Soils, to vary their Courses, unless Art be employed to prevent it.\*

It appears not improbable, that had Mr. Rich been aware of this circumstance, he might have been prepared to believe, that the River might also have varied, in other places: and thence have been induced to examine the Ground between the *great bend* of the River, opposite to the Mujelibè, and the opening between the two mounds, before spoken of: and had he been so fortunate, as to have discovered the traces of its ancient course, in that line, it might possibly have given occasion to other discoveries; and to have made him, in a great degree, master of the Plan and extent of the Area of the ancient City.

To prevent an interruption of the main subject, I forbore to speak of the *Ruin* named the *Kasr*; and of the subterraneous Passage under the Ravine; spoken of, both by Mr. Rich, and M. de Beauchamp.

I cannot but suspect that the ruin now standing, named the *Kasr*, is by no means a Babylonish Structure, but one of much later date: possibly coeval with the circular, & other Mounds of Earth, before spoken of. In the first place, it appears to be seated on a mound of Ruins or Rubbish, of ancient Babylon: and does not seem to be at all

\* In a series of Maps of the Rhine, by Mr. Wiebeking of Darmstadt (1796), these Changes are admirably illustrated. It appears that the Rhine has so much varied its Course, within no great length of time, that *Patches* of Ground, now far removed from its banks, were known to have been Islands in its bed.

identified with them. For it is said, (page 25,) to be “surprisingly fresh in appearance;” which is not the usual character of ruins, more than 2000 years old. Nor does there appear in the description, any thing characteristic of a Building of Babylonish Construction: altho’ it is, no doubt, built with Bricks extracted from such.

It would appear to owe its remaining in existence, to this time, to the extreme tenacity of the *Lime Cement*, used in the Construction. Not but that Lime Cement was in use, with the Babylonians, altho’ they used Bitumen, generally. I cannot however, agree with Mr. Rich (pages, 62, 63,) that “Lime Cement was the one most generally “employed.” Probably the fact is, that the works cemented with Bitumen, have chiefly disappeared, whilst those cemented with Lime Mortar, remain. By the Specimens which have been exhibited here, of the Babylonish Bricks that had been laid in Bitumen; and with the latter substance adhering to them; we are fully aware of the small degree of tenacity which it possesses. But it is agreed, on all hands, that it is extremely difficult to separate in a whole state, the Bricks that have been laid in Lime Mortar, in Babylon. (See also Mr. Rich’s account, page 63.) The Bricks which were laid in Bitumen, are probably those which are now found, in a *whole* state, in the construction of Baghdad, Hillah, and other places.

With respect to the subterraneous Passage under the *Mound* on which the ruin of the *Kasr* stands, it is difficult to make a right judgement of its Intention and Use, unless its level, in respect of the Plain, and River, were better known. Mr. Rich has stated (page 23) that this Passage is at the bottom of a Ravine which has been hollowed out in digging for bricks; and which ravine he judged to be from forty to fifty feet in depth. He omits the height of the Mound above the Plain; but states that of Amran, to be 50 or 60 feet; and of the Mound of the Embankment, 40. The Mound of the Kasr cannot be supposed to contain a less depth of Rubbish, than that of Amran; whence, it should be concluded, that the Passage can be but little be-



low the level of the Plain; being immediately *under the foundations*, which I believe, are never laid low, in alluvial Soils; the Ground growing more and more loose, as we descend. The Passage may therefore be about the ordinary level of the River; and its Use, possibly, to serve as an Aqueduct from it, for the supply of the Palace, at large; the water being drawn up thro' apertures, in the nature of Wells.<sup>a</sup> The Influx, of course, might be regulated by a Sluice; and accommodated to the periodical swellings of the River. One can hardly suppose that the Tunnel, spoken of by Diodorus, originated so far within the river Bank; for the part seen by Mr. Rich, was from 200 to 300 yards, within the border of the mound.

Mr. Rich found this Passage about 7 feet in height; but was told that further on it was high enough for a horseman to pass, upright. The breadth is *implied* by the length of the Sand Stones which form the roof; and which are said to be *several* yards long (Pages 23, and 24.)<sup>b</sup> M. de Beauchamp says, 6 or 7 feet in length, by 3 in breadth.

It remains that I should say a word respecting the *Nimroud Birs*, or Tower of Nimrod; situated on the west side of the Euphrates.<sup>c</sup>

I confess, it does not appear to me, to have the character of an artificial Work: nor the very curious Masonry on its summit, that of one of the Stages of such a Structure, as the Tower of Belus is described to have been; but rather like a building, which crowned the summit of a conical hill: and the cone itself, too solid, to be formed of *sun-dried* Bricks.<sup>d</sup> Nor does the mound appear to be furrowed, by

<sup>a</sup> An ancient Aqueduct of this kind occurs on the Arabian Desert.

<sup>b</sup> It has been already remarked, that Mr. Rich had no opportunity of correcting the Press.

<sup>c</sup> See the Drawings of its four fronts at the end of Mr. Rich's Book.

<sup>d</sup> A Traveller through the Desert, remarked a conical hill, with a building on it, situated at about 43 British miles to the south of Hillah. It is named *Al Athy*: and is probably one of the two Mounts, seen by Mr. Rich, from the top of the Mujelibè, at a great distance. (page 40.) The other is perhaps the Hill of red Gravel, seen by the same Traveller.

the running off of Rain Water, like the Mujelibè. But I may be prejudiced; and every one must judge for himself.

Certainly, the description of the matter of its composition, is wanting. The places of the Sun-dried Bricks, and of the traces of building exactly similar to the Brick Pile, should have been particularized. A knowledge of the former is more particularly wanted, to enable us to judge whether the body of the conical hill be artificial, or otherwise.

But, notwithstanding, Mr. Rich has, by his drawing and description, put the Publick in possession, of what is, in its nature and description, a new discovery: for even M. Niebuhr's Account of it, leaves us to suppose it to have been no more than a large ruined Tower, rising out of a Mass of Rubbish.

But, whatsoever may be the nature of the Nimroud Birs, whether natural or artificial, it is so far distant from the centre of the remains, taken for those of Ancient Babylon, at large, that it may be regarded as out of the question, in respect of its being the Tower of Belus, which is described to have occupied the centre; whilst the *Birs* is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the Kasr;  $8\frac{1}{2}$  from the Mujelibè: so that it could not even be included within the Area of Babylon, according to the above facts and descriptions, found in Mr. Rich's Memoir.<sup>a</sup>

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Mr. Rich has expressed a wish in his Memoir, to learn the opinions of other Persons, respecting the objects of his future Researches. Certain of the Remarks in the foregoing pages, may be

<sup>a</sup> On the Sketch, I have placed the *Birs* according to M. Niebuhr's Bearing from Hillah; which is West,  $27\frac{1}{2}$  degrees Southerly. Mr. Rich reckons it Southwest; in which case, it would be no less than  $9\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the Mujelibè.

Mr. Rich has made an Observation respecting an Appendage to the Nimroud Birs, which is common also to two other Structures in the same Quarter. He says, page 38, "at a trifling distance from the Birs, and parallel with its eastern face, is a Mound, not inferior to the Kasr, in elevation, but much longer than it is broad." *Al Heimar*, which bears on a smaller Scale, some resemblance to the Birs; and *Akerkouf*, a ruin in the quarter of Bagdad; have similar dependent Mounds. (p. 41, and 55.) None is mentioned at the *Mujelibè*.



conceived applicable to this purpose. If it be possible to trace certain portions of the exterior Ditch, and of the Mounds of Rubbish, which the remains of the walls cannot but have left in most places, this object appears to be of the most Importance; as a knowledge of the exterior, must infallibly lead to that of the central positions. Accordingly, taking the *Mujelibè*, or the *Kasr*, for a *supposed* centre, (merely as a point to reckon from, in the first instance) the traces of the Rubbish of the Walls, and of the hollows left by the Ditches, may be sought, in the direction of the four Cardinal Points, generally, within the limits assigned to the extent of the site; that is, from about 4 to 5 miles from the centre: for the statement of Herodotus, at 120 stadia for each side, appears excessive and improbable. Wheresoever the Mound and Ditch may be fallen upon, it should of course be pursued, with a view of finding the Angle, or return of the adjoining side: and so forward.

But if the Canal of Mohawill lies in the probable direction of the City wall, (a circumstance that must be known to Mr. Rich,) that is likely to afford the most certain clue to the whole. And if the heaps of ruins are dispersed thro' all the different quarters, as they are, in the line described by Mr. Rich, between Mohawill and Hillah, these ought to mark the extent of the Area, generally, towards each quarter.

If the artificial Canal, by which the Euphrates was conducted thro' the site of Babylon, was really straight; it may be expected to have left traces enough to detect its general line of direction. In the course of traversing the soil, for the beforementioned purposes, it might be well to note all the different hollows that have at any time contained the Waters of the Euphrates; with a view not only to this purpose, but for the sake of general Information. Such traces are most likely to be found at a distance from the great mounds that lie towards the centre. Probably, they will be most conspicuous at the commencement of the Inundation.

Since the general Course of the River is in this quarter, to the SSE and SE b S, it may be presumed that it was conducted through Babylon in that general direction; and that the Plan of the City was constructed parallel to it.

The Ground in and about the great Mounds, south of the Mujelibè, should be particularly examined; partly with a view to find the ancient Bed of the River, between them; and partly to ascertain the precise limits, as well as the altitudes of the Mounds, and the level of the subterraneous Passage.

The Mound lying between the *Kasr* and the *Mujelibè*, should also be examined. It has probably been dug into, for Bricks; and some Information may be collected, from a view of the Excavations.

It has not yet been distinctly shewn by any person, of what quality the materials of the *Substratum* of the Mujelibè are. Much may be collected from a knowledge of this circumstance; as it is possible that it may have been a natural Eminence, reduced to that form; such a one being said to occur at Musseib, a place at the side of the Euphrates, higher up, on the same side (of *Mesopotamia*.)

As Mr. Rich projected other Excursions to these Ruins, (see his Memoir, page 3), we may soon expect some further Information, and that probably of an interesting kind. It is obvious, however, that very much time will be required, for the purpose of examining the different Objects generally; they being so numerous, and so widely extended.



XXV. *Remarks on Gog and Magog, as they are mentioned in Genesis, chap. x. v. 2.; in Ezekiel, chap. xxxviii.; and in the Revelation of St. John the Divine; in a Letter from the Rev. STEPHEN WESTON, B.D. F.R.S. and S.A. to the EARL of ABERDEEN, K.T. F.R.S. President.*

Read 16th November, 1815.

MY LORD,

I PROPOSE to offer to your Lordship and the Society some remarks on Gog and Magog as we find them in Genesis x. v. 2. Ezekiel xxxviii. and in the Revelation of St. John, c. xx. v. 8.

Ezekiel is the first, from the days of Moses to his own time, who mentions Gog and Magog in a certain prophecy, that a nation from the North should in some future time invade Palestine, Gog being the Prince; and Magog the Country.

Various have been the names by different Interpreters that have been given to the inhabitants of this region; and we learn from Ambrosius, in Bochart's Sacred Geography, that Magog was the country of the Goths; from Eusebius, of the Celts and Galatians; from the author of the Alexandrian Chronicle, the Aquitanians; from the Chaldeans, the Germans; from the Arabs, that it was the region of the Tartars, or, as they call them, the Tatars; from Josephus, Eustathius, Hieronimus, and Theodoret, that Gog was the father and founder of the Scythians. The catalogue may be simplified, by making the Tatars and the Scythians one and the same; and by call-

ing the Goths European Scythians, and, which is most probable, the Germans, Garamians of Assyria. The argument in favor of Scythia is the position given by Moses to Magog between the Gomerites, or Cimmerians, and Medes, who are both bounded on the North by Scythia, and have been ever formidable in their irruptions into the countries of the South. The Magog of Ezekiel comes also from Northern coasts with the sons of Gomer, Riphath, and Thogarma, which mean terror and effraction.

Under the name of Scythia there is indeed no restriction to any particular people, or definite tract of country, or certain known language in a region extending so wide, and embracing so many tongues. Must then Magog be understood to be the Scythia of the Greeks and Romans in all its latitude, or interpreted of any particular of it? I do not scruple to answer, that the great armies destined to invade Palestine, according to Ezekiel, could not be supplied by any countries less than what the Romans and Greeks called Scythia, and we Tartary, and Moses, and Ezekiel eight hundred years after him, comprehended under the single name of Magog. The Hebrews, it ought to be remarked, make Gog a Prince, and derive him from a root out of use, except in the name of Agag, King of the Amalekites, who was so called because he was taller than any of his subjects; a virtue in which monarchs of early times delighted, as we infer from Balaam's blessing, which he poured forth on Israel with the Spirit of God upon him, "And his King shall be taller than Agag, and his kingdom shall be exalted." Numbers, c. xxiv. v. 7. But Magog with the same people is a Kingdom, whilst with the Arabs Gog, and Magog, or, as they pronounce them, Jooj and Majooj, are both names of nations, as if they were two parts of the same country, Scythia, or Tartary, just as the Chinese call China Tschin and Matschin.

In the 18th chapter of the Koran, Muhammed makes Dhu'lkarnein to have been the builder of the Wall against the incursions of Gog and Magog, of iron, and molten brass; that is, a stone wall cramped



with iron, and grouted with melted brass; and foretells that it shall be one day broken through. This Dhu'lkarnein with two horns has been interpreted Alexander, but we know of no such wall built in his time, and the ancient symbol of Macedon was one horn, as has been shown by Mr. Combe, our worthy Director, in the *Archæologia* of January 27, 1800, from Coins, that illustrate, and confirm the famous vision of Daniel, c. viii. with which it is reasonable to suppose Muhammed, who has made so much use of the Bible in his Koran, to have been acquainted. And, if so, by Dhu'lkarnein he meant the King of Media and Persia, who is represented on coins with two horns, and the wall which the Medes built, and not Alexander, and extended it from Derbend on the Caspian to the Euxine sea, in order to keep out the Scythians and other barbarous nations beyond Caucasus. This has been proved by Theophilus Sigifrid Bayer, in his tract *De Muro Caucaseo*. John Jacob Lerch has, in his Diary, given a map of the situation of Derbent; and the remains of the wall from actual inspection, which may be seen in Büsching's Magazine, T. iii. p. 8. Khalif Vathek, in the year 228 of the Hegira, or 842 of our Lord, sent Salam to explore the country of Gog, and Magog, with fifty followers from Sermenra, or Samara in Chaldæa, to Derbent, where the wall begins, which Lerch has since seen, and recorded; and from which they proceeded thirty-seven days journey, when they came to the ruins of cities that went by the name of Gog and Magog.

But we find no mention of this country in the geography of the Greeks and Romans, or in the whole extent of Northern Asia.

The Magog of Pliny, lib. v. §. 19. in Cælesyria, said to be so called by the Syrians, instead of Bambyce, or Hierapolis, should be Mabog, as it is written in Syriac, *ܡܒܘܓ*, and has been corruptedly transcribed. See Assemani in his Dissertation prefixed to Tom. ii. of his *Oriental Library*. Magog is a substantive formed from the verb agog, by prefixing *mēm*, *ās mosāb* a seat, from *jasāb* he sat; and *mattān* a gift, from *natan* he gave, in Hebrew; just as in Northern Asia,

Khakan is the Prince, and the Khakanians his subjects. From what has been said, we may conclude from Ezekiel, that Gog is the Prince, and Magog the people or land over which he ruled in the regions of the North, now known by the names of Khak, or Khakan, Prince or Emperor.

I have the honor, my Lord,

To remain

Your Lordship's humble Servant,

S. WESTON.

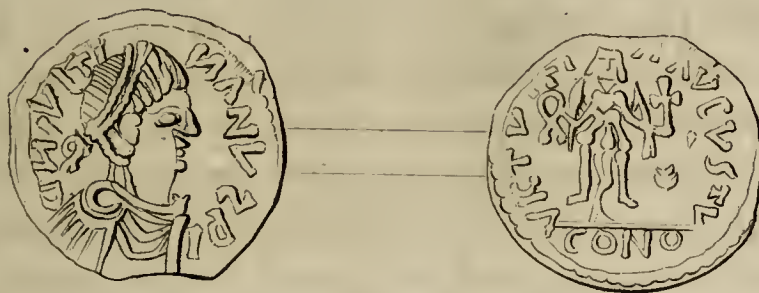
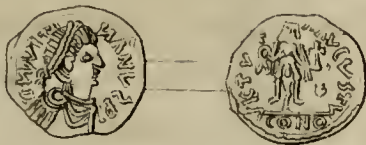
Edward-street, Portman-square,

Nov. 15, 1815.



XXVI. *Description of a Coin of the Emperor Vitalian, in a Letter from the Rev. STEPHEN WESTON, B.D. F.R.S. and S.A. to the EARL of ABERDEEN, K.T. F.R.S. President.*

Read 7th December, 1815.



MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to exhibit to your Lordship, and the Society, a gold Quinarius of the Emperor Vitalian, which reads on the obverse, DN VITALINVS P.P.AV. on the reverse, VICTORIA. AVGVSTOR. and in the exergue, CONO. The obverse has the head of the Emperor, crowned with a diadem of pearls; the reverse represents a figure of Victory. The Numismatic Authors that mention it, are Beauvais, Tom. III. p. 28, as the only coin of this Emperor that had occurred when he wrote; D'Ennerie Cat. p. 277, 4<sup>to</sup>. and Tanini in Supplem. p. 383. Descriptions of a coin of Vitalian have been since given both by Eckhel and Rasche.

The letters of this coin are blundered, and the workmanship is

neither good, nor worse than the times. Under the letters VI appears a fragment of the knot of the riband, or fillet of pearls that encircles the head. The fourth letter is A, the two sides of which, approaching each other, put on the appearance of an I. the fifth and sixth letters are joined LI so that the bottom of the L ascending meets the descending I. The Authors that speak of Vitalian are Jornandes de Regnorum et Temporum successione, 12° 1597, pp. 136, 7. Joannes Zonarius in his Annals, p. 44, Folio, v. 1. Venetiis 1729. 'Τὸν δὲ ΒΙΤΑΛΙΑΝΟΝ ὡς βασιλέα ἐυφῆμουν'. They congratulated Vitalian on being made King. Paulus Diaconus, p. 421. xi. Histor. Augustæ Scriptores minores, fol. Hanoviæ, 1611. Cassiodori Chronicon. Euagrii Histor. Ecclesiastica. p. 379 in tom. iii. Eusebii. Cantabrigiæ 1720.

Vitalian a Scythian by nation, and grandson of Aspar a Patriarchian, had had the command of the army under Leo I, and being partial to the orthodox religion waged war against Anastasius, who favoured the Eutychian heresy. Vitalian having made himself master of Thrace, Scythia, and Mœsia, came to the gates of Constantinople with a formidable army. The Inhabitants of Constantinople alarmed at his numerous forces, and indignant at the persecution they had suffered from Anastasius proclaimed Vitalian Emperor. This sudden rebellion terrified Anastasius into terms of negotiation, and he came to the conqueror with peace and supplication, and promises of recall for the exiled Bishops, and security for the Catholicks; upon these terms, confirmed by the most solemn oaths, Vitalian agreed to withdraw his troops. On the death of Anastasius, Justin, jealous of Vitalian, caused him to be basely murdered by his grandson Justinian in the year of our Lord 520.

I have the honor to remain,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's and the Society's humble Servant,

S. WESTON.

Jan. 26, 1816.



XXVII. *Copies of two Letters preserved among the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum; one from the Lady Jane Grey, the other from Queen Elizabeth; communicated by HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 11th January, 1816.

\* \* The Letter from Lady Jane Grey is that which she addressed to the Marquis of Northampton on taking possession of her short-lived power in 1553. The most striking peculiarity which marks it, is in the passage where she stigmatizes Queen Mary as the bastard offspring of King Henry the Eighth. This Letter is to be considered rather as the Composition of the Dudleys than of the Princess whose signature stands at its head: who relinquishing her own judgment, fell a sacrifice to the ambition of her relations.

The second Letter is from Queen Elizabeth to Sir John Forster, respecting the Murderers of David Rizzio: indorsed in Lord Burleigh's hand. It at least bears testimony to the temper of the Queen's mind on that remarkable event.

*Letter of Lady Jane Grey.*

JANE THE QUENE.

RIGHT trusty and wellbiloved we grete you well, advertiseng you that where it hath pleased almighty God to call to his Mercye out of this lief our derest Cousyn the King, yo<sup>r</sup> late Sovereigne Lorde, by reason whereof and such ordonnances as the sayd late king dyd establishe in his lef tyme, for the securitie and welthe of this Realme, we are entred into our rightfull possession of this Kingdome, as by the last will of our sayd derest cousyn, our late progenitor, and other severall Instruments to that effect signed with his own hande, and sealed with the greate seal of this Realme in his owne presence, whereunto the Nobles of this Realme for the most parte, and all our counsaill, and

Juges, with the Maior and Aldermen of our Citie of London, and dyverse other grave personages of this our Realme of Englande have also subscribed their names; as by the same will and instrument it maye more evydently and planely appere. We therefore doo you t'understande that by th'ordonnēce and sufferaunce of the heavenly Lorde, and by the assent and consent of our sayd Nobles and Counsaillors and others before specified, we doo this Daye make our Entrance into our Tower of London as rightfull Quene of this Realme; and have accordingly set fourth our Proclamacōns to all our loving subjects, gyveng them therby tunderstande their dieuty of Allegaunce which they nowe owe unto us, as more amplye by the same ye shall briefly perceyve and vnderstand; nothing doubting right trusty and welbiloved, but that ye will endeavor yourself in all things to th'uttermost of your power not only to defende our juste title, but also assist us in our rightfull possession of this Kingdom: and to disturbe, repell, and resist the fayned and vntrewe clayme of the Lady Marye, bastard daughter to oure greate Vncle Henry th'eight of famous memorye. Wherein as ye shall doo that which to your honor; trewth, and dieutie apperteyneth, so shall we remember the same unto you and yours accordingly. And our further pleasure is that ye shall contynue, doo, and execute every thing and things as our Lieutenant, within all places according to the tenor of the Commission addressed vnto you from our late Cousyn King Edward the sixte, in such and lyke sorte as if the same had been, as we mynde shortly it shall be, reuedd and by us confirmed under our Great Seal to you. Yeven under our Signe at our Toure of London the x<sup>th</sup> of July the first yeer of our reign. [1553.]

To our right trustie & right wellbeloved Cousyn & Counsellor the Lorde Marques of Northampton, Lieutenant of our Counties of Surrye, Northampton, Bedford, and Berkshire.



*The Coppie of the Queens Majesties Letter to Sr John Foster  
for the retorne of the Lords.*

TRUSTY ande right welbeloved Wee grete you well. Whereas the Quene of Scotts our good sister charginge the Erle Moreton, Lord Ruthwen, ande otheres their Complices, remayninge nowe at our Towne of Newcastle, not only with the slawghter of hir servant David the Italian not far frome hir persone, but with certein other treasons towards hir owne personne, hathe thereupon maide diverse earnest meanes to us, bothe by messages ande Lettres, to deliver them unto hir; and on hir behalfe the Frenche Kinge haithe earnestlie required us to deny them any succor: ande seinge that wee maye not indede maintein the keppinge of them withe in our Realme, and yet consedringe the displesour that the Quene their soveraigne presentlie beareth towards them, wee wolde be lothe to committ them into hir handes duringe the tyme of hir indingnation. Wee therefore wolde that thaie shulde devise of some place out of our realme, where they maie provide for ther lives and safety vntil suche tyme as ether theye may procure their soveraignes wrath and displeasoure to be assuaged towards them, or ells that suche indyfferency of Lawe (as they cane reasonably desier) may accordinge to their doings be ministred unto them. Wherefore we requier you forthwith to repaire to them, ande thus muche to signify unto them, that thereafter thay maie take speddy order for some place for their saiftie out of our Realme, where thaie shall think metest. This matter you shall as of yourself friste declare unto them, as a thinge convenient ande necessary for them to do. Ande if they shall not thereupon make their resolution to departe, then you shall singnyfie unto them this our pleasor in our name expressely. And thereof faile you not to see it executed. Yeven under our Signet at our mannor of Grenewich the vij<sup>th</sup> of May 1566. the eight yere of our Reigne.

XXVIII. *Observations on the Discovery of Part of a Sarcophagus at Reading Abbey, in Berkshire, supposed to have contained the Remains of King Henry I. in a Letter from the Rev. ROBERT NARES, B. D. F. R. S. and S. A. to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.*

Read 15th February, 1816.

SIR,

IT appears from Sandford's Genealogical History, that, at the suppression of the Religious Houses, under Henry VIII, the rage of Reformation went so far as to destroy even the tombs and monuments of the founders. This he particularly specifies to have been the case with the tomb of Henry I. the Founder of Reading Abbey, whose bones, he says, "Could not enjoy repose in his grave,—but were *thrown out*, to make room for a stable of Horses." p. 28. Accident having lately brought to light what appears to be a part of the wreck of that very tomb, I have thought that a short account of it might be acceptable to the Society of Antiquaries.

On the 24th of November 1815, in digging for some dry earth or gravel, to assist in making a footway to our National Schools,<sup>a</sup> there was found, not three feet below the surface, a large fragment of a stone Sarcophagus, or rather Coffin; since it had the form of the modern Coffin, not of the antique Sarcophagus. The part found consisted only of the bottom of the Coffin, and that broken; but only into two large fragments. Of the upright sides and ends nothing remained, but so much as was included within the thickness of the

<sup>a</sup> Now built in an appropriate and neat manner, within the ruins. Thus restoring to Education and Religion, in a better form, what had been taken from them.



bottom. From this small specimen, however, it appears, that the whole had been elegantly carved; for it exhibits the bases, and the bottoms of the shafts, of a complete row of small columns, or rather half columns, which evidently surrounded the whole Coffin. The forms of the columns have been fancifully varied, being alternately semi-circular and semi-hexagonal.

The whole length of the Sarcophagus is seven feet, by two feet six inches at the head, but gradually contracted to two feet at the smaller end. The thickness of the Stone is seven inches and a half. The columns have been fifty in number; namely, eighteen on each side; at the broad end eight, and at the narrower six. Six very strong iron rings had been let into the substance of the stone, and soldered in with lead: namely, two on each side, and one at each end, at regular distances.

It is difficult to imagine for what purpose these rings could be intended, except for that of letting down the coffin, with all its contents into a vault. In a vault however it was not found, nor could any more fragments of the coffin be discovered near it. The probability is, that all the vaults have been long ago filled up, by the fall of the ruins, and the accumulation of rubbish.

The place where the Coffin was found must have been near the centre of the Choir, in the Abbey Church, but it had probably been removed from its original situation, broken, and left upon the surface; the small quantity of earth found above it, being evidently such as had been gradually accumulated on the spot. No bones were near it.

The reasons for conjecturing that it may have been a part of the Coffin of Henry I. are founded chiefly on the curious workmanship which had been bestowed upon it; a decoration not likely to have been given to any thing less important than a Royal Coffin, when destined to be buried in a vault. Its mutilated state attests the violence of the destroyers, which stands upon historical testimony; and it might perhaps, not unfairly, be urged, that the small columns, as they evidently belong not to any style of Gothic design, were probably of

the earlier kind, which has been termed Saxon. The bases stand so close together, that the columns were probably made to support a set of small, interlaced, semi-circular arches, resting on the alternate capitals, according to an ordinary style of decoration in use at that period.

A leaden Coffin was found in the ruins, in the year 1785; which was rather hastily attempted, (by a person who had not seen it,) to be considered as belonging to the Founder; but the suggestion was victoriously refuted, almost immediately after.<sup>a</sup> Whether my conjecture may be liable or not to the same fate, I cannot pretend to say; but having stated my reasons, if they can be fairly refuted, I shall make no attempt to defend them.

The fragment is now deposited in the National School for boys, within the ruins, and may be inspected at any time, by applying to the Master.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient humble Servant,

ROBERT NARES.

St. Mary's, Reading,  
Feb. 10, 1816.

<sup>a</sup> See *Gent. Mag.* Dec. 1785.



XXIX. *Regulations framed in the Reign of K. Richard II. for the Government of the Tower of London; communicated by HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary, in a Letter to MATTHEW RAPER, Esq. V. P.*

Read 7th March, 1816.

British Museum, March 6th, 1816.

DEAR SIR,

I BEG to communicate through your hands to the Society of Antiquaries a Transcript of the Regulations which appear to have been framed in the Reign of King Richard the Second for the Government of the Tower of London. The Manuscript containing them is preserved in the Lansdown Collection here.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your obedient and faithful Servant,

HENRY ELLIS.

To Matthew Raper, Esq. V. P.

&c. &c. &c.

“Anno Regni Regis Ricardi 2<sup>di</sup>. quarto.

The Fees pertayning to the Constable of the Tower, and other under Officers.

The King our Sovereigne Lord maketh the Constable of the Tower of London, and giveth in fee yearlie for keeping of yt - c<sup>li</sup>

The said Constable shall have of everie Duke if there be any comaunded by the King our Sovereigne Lord to the said Tower xx<sup>li</sup>

Item, the said Constable shall have for his boord everie week v marks.

Item, for his Chaplins boord every weeke - - - vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>.  
 And for every of his Gentlemen - - - vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>.  
 And for every of his Yeomen wayting upon him within  
 the said Tower - - - - - iij<sup>s</sup>. iiij<sup>d</sup>.

Item, the said Constable shall have of every Erle commaunded by the King our Sovereigne Lord to the said Tower, for the sute of his yrons - - - - - xx<sup>tie</sup> marks.

And he shall have for his boord every weeke - - - xl<sup>s</sup>.  
 And for every of his Gentlemen a weeke - - - v<sup>s</sup>.  
 And for every of his Yeomen a weeke - - - iij<sup>s</sup>. vj<sup>d</sup>.

Item, the said Constable shall have of every Baron commaunded to the said Tower for the sute of his yrons - - - x<sup>tie</sup>.

And he shall have for his boorde every weeke - - - xx<sup>s</sup>.  
 And of every Gentleman wayting upon him - - - iij<sup>s</sup>. iiij<sup>d</sup>.  
 And fōr every of his Yeomen - - - - - xx<sup>d</sup>.

Item, the said Constable shall have of everie Knight commaunded by the King to the said Tower for the sute of his yrons - - - - - c<sup>s</sup>.

And he shall have for his boord every weeke - - - x<sup>s</sup>.  
 And for every of his Gentlemen - - - - - iij<sup>s</sup>. iiij<sup>d</sup>.  
 And for every Yeoman waiting upon him - - - - - xx<sup>d</sup>.

Item the said Constable shall have, for every Galley that cometh, two roundletts of wyne, and of all manner of dainties a great quantitie.

Item the said Constable shall have, of every Shippe that cometh with wyne, two bottells, either of them contayning a gallon, one before and th'other after the maste.

Item if a Shipp or any other Vessell above the burthen of sixe tonne, happen to fleete in the water and noe man in her, or ells fall vpon the Shelpe wherby the same forsake or avoid the shipp, and if the shipp be seased within the circumstaunce of the franchise, that is to witt from London Bridge unto the Abbot of Tower Hill's myll, shall make their fyne with the said Constable at his pleasure. And



yf it happen that Lighters, or any other vessells, be deepe laden, and by force of wether cast over the boord wyne, iron, or any other merchandise, if any of it be taken within the said franchise, it is cleerelie the said Constables.

Item yf there be any merchandise brought to the land not customed, if yt be seased and so proved not customed within the said franchise, half the said merchandise is cleerelie the said Constables, and th'other half he shall have that seaseth yt by the Water Baylif or his deputie of the said franchise.

Item all maner of Swannes that come through the Bridge, or beneath the Bridge, be cleerelie the Constables: and also there shall noe Swanne eyre beneath the Bridge, but the owners of the said Swannes shall make a fyne for them to the said Constable, and over that the said Constable shall have of every nest a Signet.

Item the said Constable shall have all manner blodshed, outreys, affrayes, staynes, veyvyd goods, and all other profitts that may growe at the two lawe dayes holden in the Tower.

Item there shall noe Carte ne Draye come before Galighmaies tower into St. Katherins without the bredre of the said place make a fyne for the yeare with the said Constable.

Item the said Constable if he be present shall upon every Assension daie goe on procession worshipfully about the Tower and St. Katherins, having with him his Lieutenant and all the freemen and inhabitants within the franchise of the Tower, in their best arraye.

Item the said Constable by his power maketh a Lieutenant, and giveth him every yeare in fee xx<sup>li</sup>.

Item the said Lieutenant shall have of every Gentleman, under the livelode of € marks a yeare, commytted to the Tower by the Kings commaundement for the sute of his yrons xl<sup>s</sup>. and him thinketh by his conscience lesse livelode, lesse sute, and for their boord vij<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. everie weeke; and for the worst and poorest man that cometh to the tower paieth for their boord a weeke iij<sup>s</sup>. iiij<sup>d</sup>. yf he be at the Lieutenants boording.

Item the said Lieutenant shall have of every Galley that cometh, a roundlett of wyne, and of all manner of daynties a certaine, and the said Lieutenant in the absence of the Constable shall have of everie shipp that cometh with wyne two bottles, either of them containyng a gallon, one before and th'other after the maste.

Item the said Lieutenant shall have of every freeman made in his tyme - - - - - vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>.

Item the said Lieutenant shall have of every arreste made in the franchise of the said Tower betwene partie and partie the somme of - - - - - ij<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>.

Item the said Lieutenant, if the Constable be not present, shall on every Assension daie, goe on procession worshipfully about the Tower and St. Katherins, having with him the Porter bering the Axe of the Tower before him, and all the freemen and inhabitants within the said franchise to wayte vpon him in their best arraye.

Item the said Lieutenant shall on St. Katherins night, take with him the Porter, and the freemen belonging to the said Tower, and the inhabitants there, and shall goe out of the Tower into St. Katherins worshipfully, and there offer before the Image of St. Katherin; for the which the brethren of St. Katherins shall give him for his labour vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>.

Item the King maketh the Porter at his pleasure, and giveth him every yeare ix<sup>l</sup>. ij<sup>s</sup>. vj<sup>d</sup>. Item he shall have of every person commaunded by the King to the said Tower his uppermost garment, or ells agree with him for yt. He shall have of the brethren of St. Katherins, on St. Katherins nighte, for wayting on the Lieutenant, ij<sup>s</sup>. iiij<sup>d</sup>. Also the Porter shall have of every Duke made Knight of the Bathe within the Tower, a rewarde as belongeth to his degree; and of everie Erle so made as belongeth to his degree; and of everie Baron so made as belongeth to his degree; and of every Knight so made vj<sup>s</sup>. and viij<sup>d</sup>. And also he shall have all the profit of all the grasse without the uttermost ditch of the said Tower. Item he shall have of every beast that commeth over the wharfe without lycence iiij<sup>d</sup>.



Item he shall have of every arrest iiij<sup>d</sup>. Item he shall have of everie paine xij<sup>d</sup>. and for his man ij<sup>d</sup>. Item he shall have of everie freeman made xij<sup>d</sup>. And if he and his man goe into the Cittie with a prisoner, he shall have for his labour iiij<sup>d</sup>. a daie. Item for the returne of every pannell betwene partie and partie xij<sup>d</sup>. Item all manner of boats driven under the burthen of vj tonne, taken within the said franchise, the said porter shall have at his pleasure; and for every prisoner delivered out of the said Tower, vij<sup>s</sup>. iiij<sup>d</sup>. Item the Lieutenant of the Tower at his pleasure shall make a Jaylor, and give him for his labor as yt pleaseth him. Item the said Jaylor shall have for everie arrest iiij<sup>d</sup>. and for every suiting of a paier of fetters xvj<sup>d</sup>.

Item the Steward of the Counties there, shall have of everie fee that is paid ij<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. Item for the making of everie free man ij<sup>s</sup>. iiij<sup>d</sup>. Item he shall have for every plee pleaded within the Court xij<sup>d</sup>. and for every nonsute ij<sup>s</sup>. Item he hath a tower syned for lodgyng called St. Martins tower for the Recordes; and he shall have for the returne of every writte ij<sup>s</sup>.

Item the Cleark hath for every plaint entring	-	-	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item in every fee that is paid	-	-	vj <sup>d</sup> .
Item for the making of a freeman	-	-	xvj <sup>d</sup> .
Item for every plea layed into the Court	-	-	xij <sup>d</sup> .
Item for every non sute	-	-	vj <sup>d</sup> .
Item for every man taken to bayle	-	-	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item for every contynuaunce	-	-	iiij <sup>d</sup> .

Item he shall have for every precept making to the por-  
ter, for the retorne of a Jury betwene partie and partie - xij<sup>d</sup>.

“ And for the returne of every Writt - - - - - vj<sup>d</sup>.

“ Item every freeman shall paie for his freedome to be devided as is before rehearsed, and so admytted shall goe with the Porter of the Tower or his man all London by the licence of the Lieutenant; and noe man shall trouble him for noe duetie that he oweth before that day he is made free; and if he be troubled, and the Lieutenant have

knowledg thereof, he shall goe to the place as he is in with the Axe of the Tower and fetch him home.

Item a freeman shall not be arrested within the Tower for noe duetie that he oweth before the daie he is made freeman.

Item yf yt soe happen that a freeman borrowe money, or doe trespas, after he be made freeman, yf he be arrested for any such, the said freeman shall paie for th'arrest iij<sup>s</sup>. iiij<sup>d</sup>. and noe more.

Item all the freemen and inhabitants shall awaite upon the Lieutenant such tyme as he shall call upon them, aswell for fetching of prisoners to the Tower, as for carying of them to Westminster, or to any other place; and on St. Katherins night; and on Assension day; in their best arraye.

Item the Franchise of the Tower stretcheth from the water side unto the end of Pety Wales to the end of Tower streete, and so streight North unto a mud wall; and from thence straight East unto the wall of the Cittie; and from thence to the Posterne South; and from thence straight to a great Elme, before the Abbot of Tower hills rent; and from thence to an other Elme standing upon the Tower ditch; and from that Elme alonge by a mud wall, streight forth into Thamys."



XXX. *An Account of some Customs in Husbandry, and the Prices of various Articles relating thereto, in the time of K. Richard II. Communicated by WILLIAM BRAY, Esq. Treasurer, in a Letter to SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. F. R. S. Vice President.*

Read 21st March, 1816.

Great Russell Street,  
18 March, 1816.

DEAR SIR,

IF you think that the following account of some customs in husbandry, and the prices of various articles relating thereto, in the time of King Richard II. will furnish any amusement to the Society of Antiquaries, you will please to lay it before them.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble Servant,

W. BRAY.

To Samuel Lysons, Esq. V. P.

IN the ancient Book known by the name of *Fleta*, many curious circumstances are detailed relating to the husbandry of this country in the time of Edw. I. that is, between 1272 and 1307. It may not be unworthy of notice to compare some of them with what appears in the time of King Rich. II. between 1377 and 1399: this I am enabled to do from the Bailiff's accounts of several Manors in the County of *Surrey*, and from them to state other particulars not noticed by *Fleta*.

By that book it seems that when it was written, farmers were beginning to add a team of oxen to two horses, by which as much work.

was done in a day, as by a team of horses only, and the expence of keeping oxen was much less.

That the Sheep-fold was in a fixed place, and that the floor of it was from time to time taken up and carried out for dressing the land; instead of the fold being moved every night till it has gone over the whole field, as is now the case; by which the whole is dressed without the labour of carrying the dressing from the farm yard, which in a hilly country is of very great utility.

That the milk of two good cows in twenty-four weeks ought to make a weigh of cheese (256 lb.); and also every week half a gallon of butter; that the worst of three will give a cheese worth a half-penny in two days, and a pennyworth of butter in a week, making  $2\frac{3}{4}d.$  a week.

That Ewe's milk was used, and twenty Ewes, well kept, were equal to three Cows.

That it was usual to sow two bushels of oats on an acre, and the calculation was, that if the Lord got only three times the quantity when threshed, he was not repaid the expence which he had been at; and in these expences nothing is reckoned for manuring the land, the rent of it, or for threshing and winnowing the corn.

In the Bailiff's accounts of the Manor of *Flaunchford*, near *Reigate* in *Surrey*, from the 5th to the 9th of Richard II. (A. D. 1382—1386) the following articles appear.

The demesne lands consisted of fifty-six acres of arable land, of which sixteen were fallow;

Two acres of meadow;

Pasture and wood no quantity mentioned; but there must have been a good deal of pasture, to keep thirteen cows and twelve oxen. The meadow and pasture belonging to the farm now (1816) is about fifty acres.

The live stock;

Thirteen cows fed from the racks in the yard in the winter.

Four calves bought at 1s. apiece.



Twelve oxen for plowing had oats and hay.

One stott used for harrowing.

One goat.

One sow.

No horses are mentioned.

The dead stock;

One plow  
One cart with wheels } sold for 5s. 6d.  
One iron flail sold for 3s.

One bedrip  
One basket  
One seedlip

In the 6th year of the king, the total of the receipts  
accounted for, was - - - - - 8 1 9½  
The disbursements - - - - - 7 0 5½

Leaving nett only - - - 1 1 4

Amongst the receipts are,

For the Lord's Plow lett to the farmers - - - 0 6 8  
Fourteen bushels of apples - - - 0 1 2  
Five loads of coals (i. e. charcoal) at 3s. 4d. - - - 0 16 8  
Wheat was reckoned at per Quarter - 7s. 4d.  
i. e. per load 1l. 16s. 8d.

Pease per bushel - - - 0 5  
Tares - - - 0 4  
Oats - - - 2 0  
A cow - - - 10 0  
Pigs, each - - - 0 6

Payments;

For keeping a Plow in repair for this Manor and that of *Hooleg*  
(a small Manor near it), and the wages of a blacksmith for a year, as  
by agreement - - - 0 6 8  
Making a new Plow out of the Lord's timber - - - 0 0 6  
A young goat - - - 0 0 1

Mowing two acres of meadow	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	0
Making and carrying the hay, besides the help of the	}							
Lord's servants								
Thrashing wheat, pease, and tares per Q <sup>r</sup> .	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	4
- - - oats	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	1½
Winnowing, one penny for three Q <sup>rs</sup> .								
Cutting and binding wheat and oats per acre	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	6
- - - peas or tares	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	8

## Wages;

The Bailiff 1*d.* a day, and for the year 3*s.* 4*d.*

Two plowmen per week each 6*d.* and for the year, one 5*s.* 6*d.* the other 5*s.*

Pottage for them by the year 2*s.* in lieu of a Q<sup>r</sup> of oats.

Two bushels of oats sowed on an acre, by strike measure.

In the same reign, and in the Manor of *Dorking*, in the same neighbourhood, it appears by the Bailiff's accounts;

That the Harvest lasted 5 weeks communibus annis.

An Ox sold for 12*s.*; a Cow for 6*s.* or 8*s.*; a cow's hide 12*d.*

Pigs 6*d.* each.

Two hundred and seventy-four rabbits at 3½*d.* each.

The forefeet of Oxen used in plowing, and heifers in harrowing, were shod, at 3*d.* each.

Hurdles cost 2*d.* each.

Washing and shearing sheep 10*d.* per hundred.

30 acres and an half of barley	Qrs. b <sup>l</sup> .							
produced only	}							
	41	4	-	thrashing at	2 <i>d.</i>			

5½ tares	-	-	-	-	1	6	-	-	-	4
28 oats	-	-	-	-	38	4	-	-	-	1½

Winnowing 1*d.* for three Q<sup>rs</sup>.

Barley sold at 4*s.* 4*d.* per Q<sup>r</sup>.; tares 4*s.*; oats 2*s.* 6*d.*



Wages;

Warrener 1*d.* a day.

Magister famuli (bailiff) a year - - - 6*s.*

Other servants - - - - - 5 6

Shepherd - - - - - 4 6<sup>a</sup>

and he had by custom one fleece at the shearing.

One Q<sup>r</sup>. 4 b<sup>l</sup>. oats allowed for their pottage.

Plowing for winter and Lent corn, 6*d.* an acre; harrowing  $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* mowing and binding 4*d.*

The Customary Tenants were to harrow a whole day and have one meal; if half a day only, they had none.

A Carpenter had 4*d.* a day for his wages.

In the 7th year of this reign, 13 cows with calves were lett one for the season at 5*s.* each.

No apples or pears were sold, they failing throughout the country.

The autumn was so rainy that instead of 6*d.* an acre for cutting and binding wheat and oats, it cost, with the carriage, 18*d.*

In this year no wages are charged, for all the servants went away out of the Lord's service at Michaelmas.

In this reign the demesne lands of *Merstham*, in the same neighbourhood, consisting of 166 $\frac{1}{2}$  acres (belonging to the *Prior and Convent of Canterbury*) with all the live and dead stock, were lett on lease, such stock being valued at 22*l.* 9*s.* 3*d.*; the rent was 36*l.*

<sup>a</sup> The Chronicon Preciosum gives different wages at this time.      £.   s.   d.

In 1389, the Bailiff's yearly wages, with cloathing and diet. . . . . 13   4

The Master Hind, or chief labouring husbandman. . . . . 10   0

The Carter and Shepherd, each. . . . . 10   0

The Oxherd. . . . . 6   8

The Swineheard. . . . . 10   0

The Plow Driver. . . . . 7   0

A Woman Labourer. . . . . 6   0

A Dairy Woman. . . . . 6   0

which, after deducting interest for the value of the stock, was perhaps something more than 3s. an acre. In this account is a Mill for Apples, and a Press, so that cyder appears to have been then a common beverage. In the Hall were two tables, and one chair<sup>a</sup> only, which of course was for the Master of the house, the rest sat on benches: it should seem that the wife did not dine at the table; at least there was no chair for her. In the Schedule, the Rental of the Manor appears to have been kept in the Granary, the Court Rolls in the Chapel, (in which was a missal.) A Cart with wheels is mentioned, and one with unshod wheels; the latter perhaps consisted of a solid round, cut off from a tree, with a hole for the axletree.

<sup>a</sup> Hist. Surrey, II. 255.



XXXI. *Sir Martin Forbisher's Instructions, when going on a Voyage to the North West Parts and Cathay, t. Qu. Eliz. Communicated by HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary, in a Letter to SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. F. R. S. V. P.*

Read 21st March, 1816.

British Museum, March 20, 1816.

DEAR SIR,

As I know not that the Instructions to any of our early Voyagers, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, are in print, I have transcribed those which were given to Sir Martin Forbisher, in or about the year 1577, from a Lansdowne Manuscript here.

They may perhaps be worth the notice of the Society.

I am, Dear Sir,

Very faithfully your's,

HENRY ELLIS.

“INSTRUCTIONS given to our loving Friend Martin Farbusher, gentleman, for Orders to be observed in the Viag now recommended to him for the North West parts and Cataia.

1. First you shall enter as Captaine generall into the chardge and gouvernement of theis three vessells, viz. The Ayde, the Gabriell, and the Michell, with all that appertaineth to them whatsoever.

2. Item you shall appointe for the furnishing of the said vessells the number of cxx. persons, wherof lxxxx. shall be mariners, gunners, carpenters, and other necessarie men to serve for the use of the shippes, and the other xxx. to be myneres, fyners, merchants, and other necessarie persons both [to] wayt and attend upon you, which numbers you shall not in any wise excede.

3. Item the victualls for vij. monethes which is delivered into the said Shippes for the provision of the aforesaid persons, you shall carefullie see the same expended and preserved without spoile or hurte taking by negligence.

4. Item you shall not receave into your companie any disordered person as neere as you may, and upon knowledg had to remove him.

5. Item you shall use all diligence possible to departe with your said vessells from hence before the xx<sup>th</sup> of this presente moneth, and to take your course either by the North or the West, as the winde will best serve you.

6. Item in your waie outward you shall (yf yt be noe hindrance to your viadge) set on land upon the coast of Freezeland vj. of the condemned persons, which you carrie with you with weapons and victualls such as you may convenientlie spare. And yf yt cannot be done outward you shall doe your indevor to accomplish the same in your returne. To which persons you shall geve instructions howe they may by their good behaviour wyne the good will of the people of that land and countrie, and also to learne the estate of the same: and yf you set them a land in your going outwards then doe your best to speake with them in your returne.

7. Item when you shall be past the lands of England, Scotland, and Ireland, you shall directe your course with all your vessells to the Island called Hall's Island, being in the entrance of the supposed straight which we name Farbusher's straight, discovered by yourself this last yeare in your journey thitherwardes. You shall have a speciall regarde so to order the matter as your Vessells doe not loose the companie the one from thother. And yf any wilfulnes or negligence shall appeare in any person or persons that shall have chardge (or otherwise) in doing of the contrarie then you shall sharpelie punish the same to the example of the rest.

8. Item, at your arrivall at Halles Island you shall seeke good harborowe for the Shipps as neere the same Island as may be, and



there to place your shippes in safetie. And from thence you shall repaire with such vessells and furniture as is apte to the place where the mynnerall oore, which was had and which you brought hether the last yeare, and there to place the myners and other men to worke and gather the oores; foreseeing as thei may be placed as well from the danger and malice of the people, as from any other extreamitie that may happen.

9. Item when you have placed your mynners and other persons as before is said, you shall then embarke your self in one of the smaller barkes, and take the other barke also with you, leaving the Ayde belinde you in the chardge of some discreete person, aswell to receave and lade the oares which shall be gotten, as also to reserve the workemen: with the which two barkes you shall repaire towardes the place where your men and boate was taken from you, and in the way going you shall make search both for good harborowes, and also for other mynnes. And if upon proof you shall finde mynes to be richer then those from whence you came, then you shall returne to the first worke and receave the myners, and shipp to those other mynes, as you shall see cause, and the workemen being once well settled, then you with the barkes shall for the searching out of your owne lost, and also to discover L. or C. leagues westward from that place, as you may be certaine that you are entred into the South Sea, and in your passage to learne all that you can: and not to tarrie so long from the Ayde and workemen, but that you be able to returne Northwardes with the shippes in due tyme.

10. Item to consider what places be most apte to make fortifications if neede require for the defence of the myners and possessing of the countrie, and to bring perfitt plotts and notes therof.

11. Item yf yt shall happen that the myners doe not yeld the substance that is hoped for, then you shall furnish the two barkes with such as you may take out of the Ayde, and therewith all you shall proceede towardes the discovering of Cataia with the two barkes for England againe.

12. Item yf yt be possible you shall leave some persons to winter in the straight, geving them instructions how they may observe the nature of the ayre and state of the countrie, and what tyme of the yeare the straight is most free from yce; with whom you shall leave a sufficient preparation of victualls and weapons, and also a pynnas with a Carpenter and thyngs necessarie so well as may be.

13. Item you shall mistruste rather to much then any thing to little touching the matter of your safetie when you happen to come to have conference with the people of those partes where you shall arrive: So againe we require you that in all your doings you doe so behave yourself (and so cause your companie to doe the like) towards the said people as may geve least cause of offence, and to procure as much as in you shall lye to wyne both friendship and likeing.

14. Item yf you finde that the oore be of that qualitie and quantitie that is looked for, that then you doe procure to lade somuch therof in all your shippings as may be, although you doe leave out other superfluous things.

15. Item you shall make your returne homeward by the west parte of Ireland, and so by the narrow seas of England to London; for that we doe take the same to be your safest course, because we doe not know what other matters may happen to you in the tyme of your journey, and therefore cannot prescribe what is to be done for your relief in a case. We doe therefore referre the consideration therof to your good discretion, not doubting but that the order which you will take therein shall be agreeable with the good expectation that is conceaved of you.

16. Item we doe not thinke yt good you should bring hither above the number of three or fower at the most of the people of that Country, whereof some to be old and the other yonge, whom we minde shall not returne again thether. And therefore you shall have great care howe you do take them for avoiding of offence towardes them and the Countrie."



XXXII. *A Letter to the Mayor and Jurats of the Town of Winchelsea, respecting the Choice of Officers in that Corporation, A. D. 1609. Communicated by WILLIAM BRAY, Esq. Treasurer, in a Letter to NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.*

Read 4th April, 1816.

Great Russell Street, 25th March, 1816.

DEAR SIR,

THE Letter, of which I enclose a Copy, shews that in the time of King James the First there was a more summary mode of settling disputes in a Corporation, as to the choice of their officers, than that now in use of applying to the Court of King's Bench for a Mandamus, or a Quo Warranto.

If you think it worth reading to the Society as a morsel of the history of one of the ancient Cinque Ports, it is at your service.

I am, Sir, your most obedient

and very humble servant,

W. BRAY.

To Nicholas Carlisle, Esq. Secretary, &c.

*A Letter to the Mayor and Jurats of the Town of Winchelsea for the time being.*

WHEREAS uppon complaint heretofore made both to this Boorde & unto o<sup>r</sup> very good Lord the Lo. Warden in particlar of many defects & disorders crept into yo<sup>r</sup> Corpora<sup>ti</sup>on by a strong combina<sup>ti</sup>on of a few factious persons that had ingrossed y<sup>e</sup> governm<sup>t</sup>. thereof into their owne hands; who would admitt noe increase in number either of

Juratts or freemen, whereby the scope in the elec<sup>c</sup>on of the Mayo<sup>r</sup> might be more large, w<sup>ch</sup> was then (amongst many other) a mayne greivance to the Inhabitants, the place having att that tyme bene for many yeares together supplied only by three; for reforma<sup>c</sup>on whereof we addressed o<sup>r</sup> l<sup>r</sup>es for election to be made into y<sup>t</sup> office for y<sup>e</sup> yeare following of Thomas Pelham the only Juratt y<sup>t</sup> had bene held out of that place, while y<sup>e</sup> Mayrolty was contynued in three. But in y<sup>e</sup> last yeares election, whether out of ignourance or perswa<sup>c</sup>on wee know not, wee are informed y<sup>e</sup> freemen swarved from our scope & inten<sup>c</sup>on, and contrary to the Lord Warden's exp<sup>s</sup>se comanndm<sup>t</sup> made choyce of one into that office y<sup>t</sup> was neither antientest Juratt, nor yet capable of any governm<sup>t</sup>. being before suspended by his lo<sup>pp</sup>. & the Mayo<sup>r</sup> inhibited to call him to y<sup>e</sup> Bench, who under p<sup>t</sup>ence of Seigniority, as being sometymes a Juratt (w<sup>ch</sup> place he had many yeares before waved & given ov<sup>r</sup>) challenged to himself a right by rela<sup>c</sup>on to y<sup>e</sup> tyme of his first admittance w<sup>ch</sup> was long before lost: Forasmuch as it is thought fitt, that in y<sup>e</sup> successive election of the Mayo<sup>r</sup>, the Juratts should from henceforth be chosen to succede in that office by Seigniority & place of Eldershipp, as they are in order of Auntientnesse recorded in y<sup>e</sup> Towne booke kept for that purpose, and have held & exercised y<sup>t</sup> place w<sup>th</sup>out discontinuance according to y<sup>e</sup> example of Romney & Sandw<sup>ch</sup>, as y<sup>e</sup> best meanes to establishe peace, & to cutt of y<sup>e</sup> cause of envye and partiallity (y<sup>e</sup> seedes of y<sup>t</sup> dissen<sup>c</sup>on) w<sup>ch</sup> hath bene soe long & soe unhappily nourished amongst yo<sup>w</sup>: These are therefore to require yo<sup>w</sup> to observe y<sup>e</sup> said orders for y<sup>e</sup> better gouvernem<sup>t</sup>. of y<sup>e</sup> Towne & reforma<sup>c</sup>on of former abuses, unlesse it shall happen y<sup>t</sup> just cause of excep<sup>c</sup>on may be taken to y<sup>e</sup> partie, w<sup>ch</sup> by y<sup>t</sup> course is to be elected. And whereas we are informed y<sup>t</sup> Paul Wymond, an auntient Juratt, is a very honest discrete man & fitt to be chosen for this yeare following: wee have thought good, for avoyding of variannce at this tyme, to reco<sup>m</sup>end unto yo<sup>w</sup> y<sup>e</sup> said Wymond to be chosen Mayo<sup>r</sup> att yo<sup>r</sup> next election, not doubting but both in respect of o<sup>r</sup> reco<sup>m</sup>enda<sup>c</sup>on and to shew yo<sup>r</sup>selves con-



formable to these o<sup>r</sup> direc<sup>ti</sup>ons yo<sup>u</sup> will not only make choice of the said Paul Wymonde to be Mayo<sup>r</sup> this yeare, but alsoe have care that hereafter y<sup>e</sup> Juratts successively from him downewards, according to every mans Seigniority as they have bene elected & recorded in y<sup>e</sup> Towne booke, and exercised their place w<sup>th</sup>out discontinuance (not admitting of any antiquity by rela<sup>ti</sup>on to any former admittance waved before, and lost in all true construcc<sup>ti</sup>on of law) be elected to y<sup>e</sup> office of Mayo<sup>r</sup>, except some sufficient cause be first alleadged to the contrary unto o<sup>r</sup> very good Lord the Lo: warden before y<sup>e</sup> election. And soe &c.

Dat 19<sup>th</sup>. Aprill 1609.

Concordat cum Registro

Jo: CORBETT.

Signed by 6 of the Lo<sup>ds</sup> Councell, viz.

Lo: Thr<sup>er</sup>; Lo. Pri. seale; Lo. Admirall; Lo. Chamberlayne;  
Earl of Worcester; Lo. Wotton.

XXXIII. *An Account of the Charges of certain Prisoners in the Tower t. Hen. VIII. Communicated by HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary; in a Letter to SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. V.P. F. R. S.*

Read 4th April, 1816.

DEAR SIR,

AMONG the miscellaneous Papers contained in the Cotton Manuscript, Titus B. I. I find a Note of "The Chardges of certayne Prisoners in the Tower." The contents of this Paper are curious. It is confined to the time of King Henry the Eighth, and enumerates the Names of some persons who are no where else chronicled as having fallen under the royal displeasure. It also affords a notion of the allowance made at that period for the support of Prisoners of State.

I am, very faithfully,

Yours,

HENRY ELLIS.

British Museum, March 28th, 1816.

"The Chardges of certayne Prisoners in the Tower.

The Lady Anne Hungerford for the space of x<sup>th</sup> monthys, after x<sup>s</sup>. le weke. Sm<sup>a</sup> - - - - xx<sup>li</sup>.

For her syster the same space, after v<sup>s</sup>. le weke - x<sup>li</sup>.

George Heyes, Scotte, secretory to the Duke of Albayny, for ij<sup>th</sup> yeres, after vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. - - xxxvj<sup>li</sup>. xiiij<sup>s</sup>. iiij<sup>d</sup>.

Syr Peers Devyllers a Frenche Knyght for ij<sup>th</sup> yeres and on month, after x<sup>s</sup> le weke. Sm<sup>a</sup>. - - - xlix<sup>li</sup>.

For hys seruant for the same space, aft' xl<sup>d</sup>. - xviiij<sup>li</sup>.



Bylney for ij <sup>th</sup> yeres and vj monthis, aft' v <sup>s</sup> .	-	xxij <sup>li</sup> .
Humfrey Lysly for on yere & ij monthis, aft' vj <sup>s</sup> .		
viiij <sup>d</sup> le weke. Sm <sup>a</sup> .	- - - - -	xx <sup>li</sup> .
Wyllm Raynold of Toffeter for on yere and ij <sup>th</sup> monthis, aft' xl <sup>d</sup> . le weke	- - - - -	x <sup>li</sup> .
Rys app Gryffyth for hys bedde and bord for xj <sup>th</sup> monthis, aft' x <sup>s</sup> . le weke, and his seruant aft' xl <sup>d</sup> . le Sm <sup>a</sup> .	xxx <sup>li</sup> . vj <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> .	
The Lord Dacres and Syr Xpofer Dacres for iiij <sup>th</sup> monthis, my lord after xx <sup>s</sup> . weke, Syr Xpofer aft' x <sup>s</sup> . le weke. Sm <sup>a</sup> .	- - - - -	xxiiij <sup>li</sup> .
Thomas Abell for ij <sup>th</sup> yeres & iiij <sup>th</sup> mōthis, after xl <sup>d</sup> . le weke. Sm <sup>a</sup> .	- - - - -	xx <sup>li</sup> .
Nicholas Ffederston for ij <sup>th</sup> yeres & ij <sup>th</sup> monthis, aft' xl <sup>d</sup> . le weke. Sm <sup>a</sup> .	- - - - -	xviiij <sup>li</sup> . xij <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> .
Doct' Wylson for ij <sup>th</sup> yeres & ij <sup>th</sup> mōthis, after v <sup>s</sup> . le weke. Sm <sup>a</sup> .	- - - - -	xxviiij <sup>li</sup> .
Doct' Powell for ij <sup>th</sup> yeres & vj <sup>th</sup> monthis, after v <sup>s</sup> . le weke. Sm <sup>a</sup> .	- - - - -	xxix <sup>li</sup> .
John Howghton Pior of the Chart' Howse of London, Austyne Webst' pior of Axh̄m, Roberd Laurans pior of Bevall v <sup>th</sup> weks, after vj <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> . le weke. Sm <sup>a</sup> .		v <sup>li</sup> .
John Hale vycar of Thystylworth for v <sup>th</sup> wekys, after vj <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> . Sm <sup>a</sup> .	- - - - -	xxxiiij <sup>s</sup> . iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Wyllm Mydmore, Wyllm Axmev, Bastyane Neudegate, monks of the Chart'howse, for iiij <sup>th</sup> wekys, after xl <sup>d</sup> . le weke. Sm <sup>a</sup> .	- - - - -	liij <sup>s</sup> . iiij <sup>d</sup> .
The Bysshope of Rochest' for xiiij <sup>th</sup> monthys, aft' xx <sup>s</sup> . le weke. Sm <sup>a</sup> .	- - - - -	lvj <sup>li</sup> .
Syr Thomas More for iiij <sup>th</sup> mōthis vnpayd, aft' xl <sup>s</sup> . the weke, & his seruaict v <sup>s</sup> . weke	- - - - -	ix <sup>li</sup> .
Edward Brym̄ygeh̄m, for his bord & beddyng for <sup>xx</sup> ix. weks, after vj <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> . weke	- - - - -	<sup>xx</sup> iiij <sup>li</sup> .

Thomas Fytzgarrad, for his bord & beddÿg for xvj <sup>th</sup>		
monthis, aft' xx <sup>s</sup> . le weke - - - - -		ij.iiij <sup>th</sup> .
Roberd Salysbury abbate de Vala cruc', for ij <sup>th</sup>		
monthis, aft' x <sup>s</sup> . le weke. Sm <sup>a</sup> . - - - - -		vj <sup>th</sup> .
Jamys Fytzgarrad & John Fytzgarrad knyghts, aft'		
x <sup>s</sup> . le weke. Sm <sup>a</sup> . xj <sup>th</sup> moneths - - - - -		xliij <sup>th</sup> .
Watt' Fytzgarrad, Richard Fytzgarrad, & Olyfer		
Fytzgarrad, aft' vj <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> . le weke. xj. monthis -		xliij <sup>th</sup> .
Doct' Townely aft' v <sup>s</sup> . le weke, viij <sup>th</sup> monthis -		viij <sup>th</sup> .
Sir Thomas Percy for vj monthis & odde, aft' x <sup>s</sup> . le		
weke. Sm <sup>a</sup> . - - - - -		xij <sup>th</sup> .
Sir Francis Bygate for vj <sup>th</sup> monthys, after x <sup>s</sup> . le		
weke. Sm <sup>a</sup> . - - - - -		xij <sup>th</sup> .
Doctor Makerell after x <sup>s</sup> . le weke, & hys seruant		
hys chapelen aft' xl <sup>d</sup> . for ij <sup>th</sup> month. Sm <sup>a</sup> . - -		viij <sup>th</sup> .
George Lumbley for ij <sup>th</sup> monthis, after vj <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> .		iiij <sup>th</sup> .
Vicar of Lowth for ij <sup>th</sup> monthis, aft' vj <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> . -		iiij <sup>th</sup> .
Roberd Tomson for ij <sup>th</sup> monthis, aft' vj <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> . -		iiij <sup>th</sup> .
Nicholas Leche prest, Thomas Roteford prest, Bar-		
nard Flecher, Roberd Sothby, Roberd Leche, Roger		
Nevoø, Phylp Trott', Long Botton', all of Lyngool-		
shere, aft' xl <sup>d</sup> . le weke for ij <sup>th</sup> monthis. Sm <sup>a</sup> -		xvj <sup>th</sup> .
My Lord Darcy for viij <sup>th</sup> weks, aft' xx <sup>s</sup> . - -		viij <sup>th</sup> .
Sir Roberd for viij <sup>th</sup> weks, aft' x <sup>s</sup> . weke - -		iiij <sup>th</sup> .
Alsoe for viij <sup>th</sup> weks, aft' vj <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> . weke - -		liij <sup>s</sup> . iiij <sup>d</sup> .
My Lord Howsew for viij <sup>th</sup> after xx <sup>s</sup> . weke -		viij <sup>th</sup> .
Pryor of Duncast' for ij <sup>th</sup> monthis, aft' x <sup>s</sup> . -		vj <sup>th</sup> .
Doct' Marmaduke for iiij <sup>th</sup> monthis, after vj <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> .		
le weke. Sm <sup>a</sup> . - - - - -		v <sup>th</sup> . vj <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> .
Sir John Bulmer & hys wyf aft' xx <sup>s</sup> ., for vj <sup>th</sup> wekys.		
Sm <sup>a</sup> . - - - - -		vj <sup>th</sup> .
M. Hamerton knyght for vj <sup>th</sup> weks, aft' x <sup>s</sup> . -		iiij <sup>th</sup> .



Nicholas Tempast for vj <sup>th</sup> weks, aft' vj <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup>	-	xl <sup>s</sup> .
Quondam of Ryvalls for vj <sup>th</sup> weks, aft' vj <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> .	-	xl <sup>s</sup> .
Quondam of Fontayns for vj <sup>th</sup> weks, aft' vj <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> .	-	xl <sup>s</sup> .
Quondam of Gysbowe for vj <sup>th</sup> weks, aft' vj <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> .	-	xl <sup>s</sup> .
Burnoll the Irysman for vij <sup>th</sup> monthis, aft' vj <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> .		
le weke. Sm <sup>a</sup> .	- - - - -	ix <sup>li</sup> . vj <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> .
P'son Alyn for iij <sup>th</sup> monthis, aft' vj <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> . weke.	-	iiij <sup>li</sup> .

Sm<sup>a</sup> to<sup>l</sup> - ccccccc.lvij<sup>li</sup>. xix<sup>s</sup>.

The Lady Anne, my lord of Rocheford, frat'  
 Weston, Mast' Henry Norrys, Sir Wylliam Bynton, }  
 & M'k Smeton.

Thes persons before namyd had lands & guds suffycyent of ther owne.

Also those for ther bordyng only, besyd ther feys."

XXXIV. *Instructions for the Survey of Church Goods, A. D. 1552. Communicated by JOHN CALEY, Esq. F. S. A. from the Original preserved in the Augmentation Office; in a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.*

Read 2d May, 1816.

Gray's Inn, 30th April, 1816.

DEAR SIR,

**I**F the enclosed Paper of the Instructions given by King Edward the Sixth to the Marquis of Northampton and the other Commissioners for Survey of Church Goods within the County of Oxford, is in your judgment sufficiently interesting, I beg you will have the goodness to communicate it to the Society of Antiquaries.

It has been copied from the original, under the King's Sign Manual, remaining in the Augmentation Office.

I am, dear Sir,

Very faithfully and truly Your's,

JOHN CALEY.

To Henry Ellis, Esq.

INSTRUCTIONS gyven by the Kings Ma<sup>tie</sup> to his right trusty and right well beloued cousyn and counsello<sup>r</sup> the M<sup>r</sup>ques of Northampton, and to the rest of his Highnes commissioners appointed for the Survey of church goods w<sup>hin</sup> his Ma<sup>ts</sup> countie of Oxforde the x<sup>th</sup> of June 1552, in y<sup>e</sup> sixt yere of his Highnes reigne.

EDWARD.

FIRST vppon the receipte of the Co<sup>m</sup>yssion by any one of the same comyssionars he that so shall first receve the co<sup>m</sup>yssion shall forth w<sup>th</sup> w<sup>t</sup> all convenient spede give knowlege to the rest namyd in



the same cōmyssion and w<sup>t</sup> them shall agre to meet and assemble, w<sup>t</sup> that spede they can, for the execucon of the said cōmyssion & thes Instructions.

And yf any of the said cōmyssionars shalbe deade, sike, or otherwise be so absent out of the countie for the service of the king, that he can not with spede attend the same, in that case, the rest of the said cōmyssionars so that they be to the numb<sup>r</sup> appointed by the cōmyssion shall not make any delay from the pceeding in the same cōmyssion, but shall forthw<sup>t</sup> allot ther sittinge assemblies & metings for the same cōmyssion as in like cases hath byn or shalbe mete to be usid.

Item for their more certaine & bett<sup>r</sup> proceading the said cōmyssionars shall, in soch cases where none of the cōmyssyonars be custos rotulorum of that countie ne hath bin sins the beginyng of o<sup>r</sup> raign, cōmaund the said custos rotulorum or their deputie or the clerke of the peax of those parties to bring or send vnto them soch books, regesters, & inventories as hath heretofore any wise com to their hands by indenture, touching the soms, numbres, & values of any goods, plate, jewells, vestments, bells, or ornaments of any churches, chappells, & soch like, and likewise the said cōmyssyonars shall sende to the bysshops of every diocese wherein the said countie is scituat or to there chauncelors, cōmyssaries, or other ecclasticall officers, in whos hands or custody the like of the forsaide inventories & regesters have com, & of them & every of them they shall receve & take the same books, regesters, & inventories, and that done the said cōmyssionars shall compare both the same inventories, that is to say aswell soch as they shall receve of the custos rotulorum or their deputie or the clerke of the peax of those parties, as of the bysshops or there vnder officers, & according to the best, richest, and gretest inventory, the said cōmyssionars shall proceade to make ther survey and enquiery, and by the same make the searches of the defaults & wants that shalbe founde. And generally the same cōmyssionars shall not only by the vieu of the said regesters and inventories, but also by any other menis they can

bett<sup>r</sup> devise, proceade to the due serch & enquisiçõn of the wants & defaults of any part of the said goods, plate, jewells, vestments, bells, or ornaments.

Itm̄ for the more spedy obtaining of the said regesters & inventories, the said comysshionars shall receve sp̄iall Lr̄es of com̄aundement from o<sup>r</sup> privie counsell for the deliverie therof, w<sup>ch</sup> t̄res the said comysshionars shall deliver as they shall see occasion.

Itm̄ the said comysshionars shall, vppon ther vieu and survey taken, cause due Inventories to be made by bills or book indentid, of all man<sup>o</sup>r of goods, plate, jewells, bells, & ornaments as yet remaining or any wise forthcomyng and belonging to any churches, chappells, fraternities, or gildes; and thone part of the same Indentures to send & retorne to o<sup>r</sup> privie counsell, & thother to deliver to them in whose hands the said goods, plate, jewells, bells, & ornaments shall remaine to be kept & p̄serued. And they shall also give good charge & order that the same goods, & every part therof, be at all tymes forthcomyng to be answered, leving neverthelesse in every parish church or chappell of com̄on resort one two or more chalesses, or cups, according to the multitude of the people in every soch church or chappell, & also soch other ornaments as by their discreçõs may seme requisite for the divine service in every soch place for the tyme.

And bycause we be enformed that in mayny plac̄s grete quantities of the said plate, jewells, bells, & ornaments be embecilled by certaine private men, contrary to o<sup>r</sup> expresse com̄aundements in that behalf, the said comysshionars shall substauncially & justly enquier & attaine the knowlege thereof by whos default the same is & hath byn, and in whose hands any part of the same is com̄. And in that point the said comysshionars shall haue good regard that they attain the certaine names & dwelling places of every parson & parsons that hath solde, alienatid, embecilled, taken or caried away, and of soch also as hath counseiled, advised, and com̄aunded any p<sup>r</sup> of the said goods, plate, jewells, bells, vestments, & ornaments to be taken & caried away or



otherwise embecilled. And thes things they shall, as certainly and duellie as they can, cause to be searched & vnderstaunde.

Vppon a ful search and enquierie whereof, the said cōmyssionars, iiij or iij of them, shall cause to be cauled before them all soch persons by whome any the said goods, plate, jewells, bells, ornaments, or any other the p̃myssis have byn alienated, embecilled, or taken away, or by whose menis or procurement the same, or any part therof, hath byn attempted, or to whose hands or vse any of the same or any proffit for the same hath growen; & by soch good menis as to their discreçōns shall seme best, cause them to bring into ther, the said cōmyssionars, hands, to oʳ use, the said plate, jewells, bells, and other the premysses so alienatid, or the trewe and just valoʳ thereof, certifieng vnto oʳ privie counsell the names of all soch as refuse to stand to or obey their order touching the redeliverie & restituçōn of the same, or the just valoʳ thereof, to thintent that, as cause & reason shall requier, every man may answer to his doings in this behalf.

Effynally oʳ plesure is that the said cōmyssionars, in all ther doings, shall vse soch sober & discrete manoʳ of proceading as the effect of this cōmyssion may go forward w<sup>th</sup> asmoch quiet and as litell occasion of trouble or disquiet of the multitude as may be, using to that end soch wise perswaçōn in all places of ther cessions as in respecte of the place & disposiçōn of the people may seme to their wisdoms most expedient; giving also good & substaunciall order for the stay of thinordinate & gredie covetusnes of soch disordered people as haue or shall go about the alienating of eny the premysses, so as according to reason & order such as haue or shall contemptuously offend in this behalf may receive reformaçōn, as for the qualitie of ther doings shalbe requesite.

XXXV. *A View of the Opinions of various Writers on the identical Place where the Ark of Noah rested. By the Rev. STEPHEN WESTON, B.D. F.R.S. in a Letter to the Right Hon. the EARL of ABERDEEN, K.T. F.R.S. President, &c. &c. &c.*

Read 16th May, 1816.

MY LORD,

**I** PROPOSE to give a short but comprehensive View of the Opinions of various Writers on the identical place where the Ark rested, and leave it to your Lordship and the Society to determine, if what has been already suggested be so satisfactory as to require no further discussion on the subject.

When the waters of the deluge had somewhat abated, and continued slowly to subside, the Ark, Moses tells us, rested on Mount Ararat. According to the Sibylline verses, composed by Psellus, or some Greek Monk of the twelfth century, about the year A.D. 1105, Mount Ararat was in Phrygia, at the source of the river Marsya, which rises with the Mæander, not far from Celænæ, as we learn from Strabo, in his 12th book, and from Maximus Tyrius, who had seen the fountain of the Marsya, and the Mæander. In the first book of the Sibyl's Oracles we read, There is in black Phrygia a very high hill, called Ararat: now this epithet black may belong to Phrygia, denominated as the burnt country; but as the hill is said to be at the source of the Marsya, Casaubon reads Κελαίνης, instead of μελαίνης, that is, Celænæ, a place also at the source of the Marsya. The Sibyl, however, who calls herself the daughter in law of Noah, could have known nothing of Marsya, a name given to the river after the death



of Midas, in whose time it went by his name, according to Plutarch, in his tract on Rivers, p. 1154. vol. ii. fol. ed. opt. It is also incontrovertible, that Ararat must have been a very high mountain, because the Ark is said to have rested on it on the seventeenth day of the seventh month, and the waters ran off so sparingly, that the tops of the neighbouring hills were not visible till the tenth. Genesis chap. viii. ver. 4, 5. But the place, whether in the burnt country, or near Celænæ, has no mountains, but a λόφος or rising ground, say both Strabo and Ptolemy; therefore the long high ridge of the Sibyl reaching to the heavens, Ἡλίβαλον τανύμηκος ὄρος, dwindles into a knoll, from whence the road to Babylon runs from west to east; whereas those who came out of the Ark are said to have gone in their way to the land of Shinar, or Senhar, from the east, as we read in the 11th chapter of Genesis, and at the 2d verse.

Celænæ, in process of time, changed its name to Apamia, and was called after the mother of Antiochus Soter. See Pliny, lib. v. c. 29: And to Apamia was added Cibotos, Κιβωτός an Ark or Chest, as explained by Ptolemy in his 5th book; whence arises the argument of the author of the Sibylline Oracles, that the Ark rested here; and another reason, at the same time, why we should believe that μελαίνης ought to be Κελαίνης. Were Apamia the only place called Κιβωτός, it would make the conjecture more plausible; but Alexandria had the title of Cibotos, because it was the greatest receptacle, mart, and emporium for the trade of Italy and Greece after Ephesus; so Celænæ, surrounded and enclosed by the Marsya, the Obrima, and the Orga, at the foot of a hill, received their streams, and was embayed by them as they ran into the Mæander. Psellus, in establishing an arkite memorial in Phrygia, from the name Cibotos given to Apamia, heretofore Celænæ, has been followed by a great name of our own, Bryant, who makes Beryth take its name from Baris, the Ark, because Nonnus praises Beryth for its justice, and calls it the nurse of the milk of human life; but the Greek poet only celebrated it as one of the three schools established by Justinian for the study of the civil law, at Rome,

Constantinople, and Beryth. It is not certain by what Emperor the Schools were founded, but well known that there were four professors appointed by Justinian to read lectures at Beryth, when Nonnus wrote the forty-first book of his *Dionysiaca*. See *Amœnitates Juris Civilis*, by Menage, p. 161. ed. 1725.

To return to the subject: Joseph, son of Gorion, a Jew of the ninth century, understood Mount Ararat to mean Iberia and Scythia, reaching from Armenia and the gates of Caucasus to the Tanais, and Palus Mœotis; but a similar objection may be made to this site of Ararat, for the Ark's descent, as was started against the Sibyl, that the first journey and progress of those who came out of the Ark must have been in this case from the North to the country of Senhar, as the other was from the West. Jerom was also persuaded that Ararat meant Armenia, and that the mountains, or one of the mountains on which the Ark rested, was Taurus, at the foot of which flows the Araxes. Here he was undoubtedly right in the name of his mountain, but not in the position of it; since Taurus, a mountain in Armenia, extended through a vast variety of country in Asia.

The Taurus of the ancients, then, under the particular names of Taurus, Niphates, Caspius, Paropamisus, Caucasus, Emodus, &c. originated in the south-west extremity of Asia Minor, through which tract it passed, at no great distance from the shores of the Levant, and thence in its course eastward separated Armenia from Mesopotamia, the two Medias from each other, and the greater Media from the narrow tract along the southern border of the Caspian Sea.

Passing the south-east corner of the Caspian, Taurus was understood to separate, in its eastern course, the countries of Parthia, Margiana, and Bactria, from those of Asia, Drangiana, and the western provinces of India, watered by the heads of the Indus; beyond this point it was supposed to divide Scythia from India, taking both these countries at large, and as occupying the remainder of the space in the habitable world eastward.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See Geography of Herodotus, 4to. p. 175. 1800.



Here it is then we are to look for one of the mountains of Ararat, and not in Armenia, and we shall find the country where the Ark rested, and to which it left its name, the country of Thibet. In the sixth chapter of Genesis, verse 14, it is said, "Make thee an Ark," (תִּכְתֶּה). Thibet is a word only applied to Noah's Ark, and to that which Moses's mother prepared for his preservation: see Exodus, c. ii. iii. an Ark of bulrushes, (תִּיכֶת Thibet). In this place it is written with a Jod, and has all the letters that compose the word used to represent the country of Thibet, as the Tau in Hebrew is both T or Th. There is also another good and indisputable reason for making Thibet the resting-place, or where the Ark first touched land, because its mountains are the highest on the earth: nine thousand feet above Montblanc, which is 15000 above the level of the sea; and four thousand above Chimboraso in South America, which is twenty thousand: and from Thibet we may say, what we cannot truly assert from Phrygia or Armenia, that the families of the Ark journeyed from the East to the plain of Shinar.

I have the honor to remain,

Your Lordship's humble Servant,

May 14, 1816.

STEPHEN WESTON.

XXXVI. *An Account of an ancient Gold Ring found in Coventry Park in the Year 1802.* By THOMAS SHARP, Esq. of Coventry, in a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S. *Secrétary.*

Read 23d May, 1816.

MY DEAR SIR,

As you expressed a wish to exhibit my ancient Gold Ring to the Society, I with much pleasure communicate the following account of it.

The Ring was found in Coventry Park, near the Town Wall, in the autumn of 1802, by a person getting up potatoes, and weighs 1 oz. 13 dwts. 8 grains.

The centre device represents our Saviour rising from the sepulchre, and in the back ground are shewn the hammer, ladder, sponge, and other emblems of his passion. On the left is figured the *wound of the side*, with the following legend, "the well of ewerlastingh lyffe." In the next compartment two smaller wounds, with "the well of confort,"—"the well of gracy;" and afterwards two other wounds, with the legends of "the well of pittty—the well of merci."

From some small remains it is evident that the figure of our Saviour, with all the inscriptions, have been filled with *black* enamel, whilst the wounds and drops of blood issuing from them were appropriately distinguished by *red*.

On the inside of the Ring is engraven "Wulnera quinq, dei sunt  
" medicina mei, pia crux et passio xpi sunt medicina michi, Jaspas, Mel-  
" chior, Baltasar, ananyzapta tetragrammaton."

The exterior devices and inscriptions are very similar to those



which Sir Edm<sup>d</sup> Shaw, Goldsmith and Alderman of London, directs by his Will, circa 1487, to be made on “16 Rings of fyne Gold, to be graven with the well of pitie, the well of mercie, and the well of everlasting life.”

The inscription withinside is an Amulet, and various instances might be adduced of such usage. In the account of the Gentleman's Society at Spalding, is recorded a present of “an amulet that had touched the heads of the three kings of Cologne, whose names were in black letters within:” and allusions to the five wounds of Christ are so frequent, that it may suffice to notice the occurrence of the particular verse—“Vulnera quinque dei sint medecina mei,” in Caxton's “Chastysing of Goddes chyldern.” Sign. F. v. “Also some use that discypline and scorgynges, for such passiōs say therewyth thise verses—Vulnera quinque dei sint medicina mei;” and to remark that the Portrait of Bp Waynflete, in stained glass, formerly existed in the East window of the School founded by him at Waynflete, with the same verse underneath.

Of the barbarous word *ananyzapta*, the only notice I have met with is in Julii Reichelti *Exercitatio de Amuletis* (Argentorati 1676, 4to.) who in plate vi, fig. 2, gives a representation of an Amulet in form of a Medal, having on one side the superscription “Tetragrammaton,” and upon the Cross in centre “INRI.”—The reverse reads “Ananizapta dei,” with the word “Emanuel” upon the Cross; on which he observes as follows:

“Frequens quoque abusus est in amuletis signi crucis, de quo supra. Hujus insigne documentum est amuletum argenteum in Tab. VI. numero secundum, in quo corrupti & magici vocabuli Ananisapta derivatio non neminem frustra exercuit. Sachsius Grammarolog. pag. 871, ex Freitag. Noct. Med. cap. 39, pag. 193 docet, quod contra lethales morbos usurpent versum: *Ananisapta ferit mortem, qui lædere quærit*. Forte igitur amuletum hoc iis appendendum, qui quocunque lethali morbo decumbent.”

I lately saw a massy Thumb Ring of Iron, covered with a thick lamina of Gold, withinside of which was the following inscription—  
 the Tananizapta ✠ xpi ✠ T. being the only further instance I have met with. The word "Tetragrammaton" needs no remark, and perhaps I ought to apologize for so diffuse a communication as the present.

I am, my dear Sir,

Very truly Yours,

THOMAS SHARP.

May 21, 1816.



XXXVII. *On the Origin and Antiquity, Use and Advantage of Cufic Coins.* By the Rev. STEPHEN WESTON, in a Letter to the EARL OF ABERDEEN, K. T. F. R. S. President.

Read 13th June, 1816.

MY LORD,

I OFFER to your Lordship and the Society a short Paper on the origin and antiquity, use and advantage of Cufic Coins.

Wheresoever the arms and religion of the disciples of Mahom̄ed have forced their way, coins that have Arabic titles, whether struck in Syria, Persia, Africa, Spain, or Arabia, are called Mahometan. The most ancient of these are said to be Cufic, because their legends are written in Cufic letters, that is, in characters first used in Cufa, a city of Mesopotamia, and first employed in transcribing the Koran for the space of three hundred years, and for inscriptions on stones and coins for three hundred more, to the 13th century of the Christian æra.

Abdolmelek, son of Merwan, was elected successor of Mahom̄ed in the sixty-fifth year of the Hegira, and the six hundred and eighty-fourth of our æra; and at that time the Arabians used coins inscribed with Greek, Persian, and Parthian letters, till Abdolmelek having quarrelled with the Greek Emperor first in seventy-six, or 695, A. D. coined Arabic money, as we learn from Elmacin, in his History of Arabia, p. 63 of Erpenius's edition, and inscribed them "God is eternal." Thus much Abdolmelek did, by the advice of Hegias, General of his army; but of this early mintage no coin is now extant, having been, (as they were all of gold and silver,) probably melted into ornaments for the neck, and the arms. The first

coins of seventy-six were struck at Waset, not in the palace of the Khalif at Damascus, but in a city of Iraka, built by Hegias. The next coin in order extant is of seventy-nine of the Hegira, A. D. 695, and is preserved in the royal cabinet at Stockholm, and has been published in 1800 by I. Hallenberg.

If it be now asked, of what use or advantage is this knowledge of Arabic coins to us at the present moment, or in the future? It may be answered, that the use is in affording land-marks in the ocean of History, stepping-stones for the brooks of Geography, and dates for Chronology. The navigator who discovers an island in an unknown sea, though it prove uninhabited and inaccessible, yet he may use it for the purpose of directing other adventurers to make new discoveries; but the benefit to be derived from the study of Cufic Coins is infinitely beyond this, and of more certain and more undoubted advantage, of which the records they afford of things obliterated on memorials of stone, or brass, sufficiently bear witness. It follows, then, that the same utility, the same excellence may be attributed to the coins of the Arabians, as to the medals of Greece and Rome, the Punic coins of Sicily and Malta, and the numismata of Tyre and Sidon, with dates upon them. The Medallie History, Chronology, and Geography of the vast empire of Mahomed, rise and decline, periods and vicissitudes, serve as a check to the erroneous statements of the Arabic writers, and the frequent mistakes they have been guilty of in the imperfect lists of their ruling Princes, the years they reigned, the titles they assumed, the battles they fought, and the kingdoms they conquered.

The introduction of new coins with which they paid their tribute to the Emperors of the East, laid the foundation of bloody wars and dissensions between the Arabs and the Christians. Inscriptions on the coins of Alphonsus VIII. of Spain, and on those of the Georgians, lit up the flames of war, and fed the destructive fire of political animosity between the disciples of Christ, and the followers of Omar, and Ali: Alphonsus defied Jacob, king of Africa, with the cross in the



area of his money, and the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the only God, round the margin. The Prince of Georgia inflamed the Mahometans by adding to his titles, Nezer Ulmesyh, Zeheer Ulmesyh, the eye of Christ, the adjutor of the anointed; Husam Ulmeseeh, the sword of the Messiah. On a coin of Schah Rokh, struck at Teflis 1162, A. D. 1748. There is no God but God, or the usual Arabic sentence; and on the reverse, "The servant of God, Schah Rokh struck this coin, Kelb Astan, the chained dog of the port." G. Tychem says, he believes this to be a satire of the Georgians, p. 228. *Introductio in rem numariam*, 1794.

Mahomedan Princes oftentimes marked their money with their own names, to show their contempt of the reigning Khalif, and thus blew the trumpet of sedition; Conquerors, on the contrary, made peace on condition that their coins should bear their names and superscriptions, and attest the defeat of the powers subdued.

The adulteration also of the coin of the realm has not unfrequently occasioned war after war, and Princes have been deposed, and Vizirs murdered for the arbitrary increase of the worth of the current specie, or the authoritative diminution of the value of the circulating money. We learn from Nadir Shah's edict for an uniformity of Religion between the Schias and the Sunnis, that the difference between these sects was in the mention made in the prayers, and on the money of the Schias, of Ali, the friend of God, contrary to the form of the orthodox; there is no God, but God, and Mahommed the prophet of God: This the edict says is repugnant to religion, and contrary to the agreement and covenant entered into. Besides, it is evident to the world, that as the Prince of the faithful, the lion of God, the victorious, is elect, praised, and acceptable to God the Lord of glory, that his rank and interest at the court of unity will not be increased by vulgar testimony, nor the full moon of his power be diminished by omitting these words; moreover, the bad consequence of this form is, that both sects, the Schias and the Sunnis, will be provoked to animosities hateful to the Prophet, and to the Prince of the faithful.

The use of Cufic coins is also further shown in a philological and palæographical view, from their prior existence to the written testimony of Arabic manuscripts.

It has been observed by Adler, in his very learned illustrations of the Museum Cuficum Borgianum, that in the darkness in which oriental history is enveloped, some little of the thick veil has been removed by a general knowledge of the coins of the Mahometans, and much more by particular information in certain cases, in which the assertions of historians of great celebrity have been shown to be erroneous. The Prince of the Aiubites, who reigned at Aleppo, according to Deguignes in his History of the Huns, enjoyed absolute power; but it appears by a silver coin in Adler, of the Borgan Collection, number XXVII, that the King of Aleppo was not only subject to the Khaliph of Bagdad, but also to the King of Egypt and Damascus, Abubekr. Cufic coins dug up in the north of Europe prove also the existence of commerce carried on between Bokhara beyond the Oxus, and towns on the Baltic. It has been already shewn that the cause of dissention between the Schiites and the Sunnites is recorded on Cufic coins, one of which is of gold, and published by Adler, No. XXI. p. 53, of the Borgan Museum; on this is the expression, Ali is the friend of God, a formula that made the governors of Africa, Egypt, and Sicily, of the posterity of Fatima, odious to the Khalifs of Bagdad, and Damascus. The gold coin I quote is of the Fatemidæ in Sicily, anno 395, or 1004 of our æra.

The Fatemidæ, or Sciites, pretend that Ali is the first rightful successor of Mahommed, for which reason they add Ali to his name. The Sunnites, on the other side, contend that Abubekr, Omar, and Osman, who are prior in time to Ali, are the immediate and true Khalifs, or Vicegerents of the Prophet; the Persians of this day are Schiites, the Turks, Sunnites.

I have the honour to remain,

Your Lordship's humble Servant,

STEPHEN WESTON.

Edwards Street, Portman Square,  
June 4th, 1816.



XXXVIII. *Observations on the Christmas Diversions formerly given by the Lord of Misrule, and on the King's Office of Revels and Tents: chiefly from Papers preserved at Losely, near Guildford, in a Letter from WILLIAM BRAY, Esq. Treasurer, to SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. Vice President.*

Read 7th Nov. 1816.

DEAR SIR,

AMONGST many curious papers preserved at Losely, near Guildford, the ancient seat of the *Mores*, and now possessed by their descendant James More Molyneux, Esq. are accounts relating to the Christmas Diversions given by the *Lord of Misrule*, and relating to the King's Office of *Revells and Tents*. The former may serve as an addition to the account of the *Lord of Misrule*, given by our late worthy Secretary, Mr. Brand; the latter I do not remember to have seen in print.

If you think the following extracts worth laying before the Society, I have Mr. Molyneux's permission to communicate them.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble Servant,

WILLIAM BRAY.

Great Russell Street, 6th Nov. 1816.

THE LORD OF MISRULE was the Title of one who furnished entertainment during the Christmas holidays, not in the King's palace only, but in those, as Stow tells us, of every nobleman of honour or good worship, were he spiritual or temporal. Strype's ed. Book I. p. 246,

says, that by an Act of Common Council, 1. 2. Ph. & Mar. for retrenching expenses, among other things it was ordered, that the Lord Mayor or Sheriffs shall not keep any Lord of Misrule in any of their houses. Our late worthy Secretary, Mr. Brand, in his curious Collection of popular Customs, (edited to so much advantage by Mr. Ellis, one of our present Secretaries,) has with his usual industry collected many particulars respecting this Officer, whose title seems to have been very appropriate, as Mr. Brand says that in some parishes one was chosen who with his attendants would go to the parish church and play their pranks there, though the minister were at his prayers or preaching. We may suppose that one who was to entertain the court, or the higher classes, would not be quite so gross, though perhaps the manners of the great in those days were less refined than they are at present.

Mr. Brand also gives us an account of the grave sages of the law being entertained in the same manner in their halls; a Christmas Prince or Revel-Master being constantly appointed. At one of these entertainments in the Middle Temple, in 1635, the jurisdiction, privileges, and parade of this mock-monarch are circumstantially described. He was attended by his lord keeper, lord treasurer, eight white staves, a captain of his band of pensioners and of his guard, and two chaplains, who when they preached before him on the preceding Sunday in the Temple Church, on ascending the pulpit, saluted him with three low bows.<sup>a</sup> He dined, both in the hall and in his privy chamber, under a cloth of estate. The pole-axes for his gentlemen pensioners were borrowed from Lord Salisbury; Lord Holland, his justice in Eyre, supplied him with venison; the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London with wine. On the 12th, at going to church, he received many petitions, which he gave to his Master of Requests; and, like other kings, he had a favourite, whom with others, gentlemen of high quality, he knighted at returning from church. His expenses from his own purse amounted to £2000.

<sup>a</sup> As is now done at the Chapel Royal on preaching before the King.



Mr. Evelyn, the celebrated author of the *Sylva*, in his MS. Diary, now in the family library at Wotton in Surrey, says,

“1 Jan. 1662, I was invited to the solemn foolery of *The Prince de la Grange*, at Lincoln's Inn, where came the King, the Duke of York, &c. It began with a great masque and a formal pleading before mock princes, grandees, nobles, and Knights of the Sun. He had his Lord Chancellor, Treasurer, and other royal officers, gloriously clad and attended. It ended in a magnificent banquet. One Mr. Lort was the young spark who maintained the pageantry.

“6th Jan. This evening, according to custom, his Majesty opened *The Revells* of that night by throwing the dice himself in the privy chamber, where was a table set on purpose. He lost his £100. The year before he won £1500. The ladies played very deep.

“9th Jan. 1668. After meeting at the Royal Society, I went to see the Revells at the Middle Temple, which is an old but riotous custom, and has no relation to virtue or policy.”<sup>a</sup>

Grafton, in his *Chronicle*, tells us that the Duke of Somerset, being condemned to death on 16th Oct. 1551, though not beheaded till 22d January following, the people murmured against the Duke of Northumberland and others of the Lords, and, as the common fame went, the king took it not in good part; wherefore as well to remove fond talk out of men's mouths, as to recreate the troubled spirit of the young king, it was desired that the feast of Christmas, then at hand, should be kept at Greenwich, with open household and frank resort to the court, (which is called keeping the Hall). What time, of old ordinary course, there is always one appointed to make sport in the court, called commonly Lord of Misrule, whose office is not unknown to such as have been brought up in noblemen's houses, and among great housekeepers, which use liberal feasting in that

<sup>a</sup> This M.S. of Mr. Evelyn contains many curious particulars in the times of K. Charles II. and K. James II. with both of whom, and with their ministers; he had frequent and intimate intercourse. The public are likely to be favoured with a sight of it.

season. There was, therefore, by order of the Counsaile, a Gentleman both wise and learned, whose name was Geo. Ferrers, appointed to that office for this year, who being of better calling than commonly his predecessors had been, received all his commissions and warrants by the name of the Master of the King's Pastimes. He so well supplied his office, both in shew of sundry sights, and devices of rare inventions, and in acts of divers enterludes and matters pastime played by persons, as not only satisfied the common sort, but also were very well liked and allowed by the counsaile and other of skill in the like pastimes; but best of all by the young King himself, as appeared by his princely liberality in rewarding that service.

Sir Richard Baker observes, that he gave great delight to many, and some to the King, but not in proportion to his heaviness.

Stow gives further particulars of the entertainment mentioned by Grafton. He says, that Mr. Ferrers being lord of the merrie disportes all the twelve days, so pleasantly and wisely behaved himself, that the King had great delight in his pastimes. On Monday the 4th of January, he came by water to London, and landed at the Tower wharf, entered the Tower, and then rode through Tower street, where he was received by Serjeant Vawce, Lord of Misrule to John Mainard one of the Sheriffs of London, and so was conducted through the city, with a great company of young lords and gentlemen, to the house of Sir Geo. Barne, Lord Mayor, where he with the chief of his company dined, and afterwards had a great banquet, and at his departure the Lord Mayor gave him a standing cup with a cover of silver gilt, of the value of ten pounds, for a reward; he also set a hogshhead of wine and a barrell of beer at his gate for his train that followed him; the rest of his gentlemen and servants dined at other Aldermen's houses and with the Sheriffs, and so departed to the Tower wharfe again, and to the court by water, to the great commendation of the Mayor and Aldermen, and highly accepted of the King and Counsaile.



In the reign of King Henry the VIIIth, there was an officer in the royal household called Master of the Tents and Revells, or Masks and Revells, whose business it was to keep the tents and pavilions belonging to the King, and which were often (if not always) sent with him on his removes or progresses. This officer had also the keeping of the dresses and masks which were used on entertainments given at court, and he was to provide such new ones as were wanted.

Under that Monarch the office was held by Tho. Cawarden, Esq. Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to the King;<sup>a</sup> he was afterwards knighted, and continued in his employment under King Edward the VIth.

Sir Edmund Tylney held it in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

In the time of King Charles the II. masks were much worn, and interludes were performed at court by ladies and gentlemen, so that probably the Master of the Masks and Revells had some employment. They do not seem to have been used since the accession of the present family to the throne; but the Revells remained, as the Kings George I. and II. played in public at the hazard table, which was attended by the Groom Porter, an officer who seems to have succeeded to the Master of the Revells. The practice and the office have been abolished in the present reign.

At Losely, near Guildford, in Surrey, the seat of James More Molyneux, Esq. are many curious papers of the time of Hen. VIII. Edw. VI. Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, preserved by Sir Wm. More, the then owner of that estate (the present mansion having been built by him in the reign of Queen Elizabeth,) and by his son Sir George More; and amongst them are the particulars of the King's expenses occasioned by the entertainment mentioned by Grafton and Stow: some of them are signed by Sir Tho. Cawarden. Although they do not profess more than to give an account of the expenses of the

<sup>a</sup> He was of a Cheshire family, had grants of several estates in Surrey from Hen. VIII. He died 20th Aug. 1 Eliz. 1559, and is buried in Blechingley church, where is a monument for him.

office, many particulars may be collected from them, especially as to the entertainment of the Lord of Misrule mentioned by Grafton and Stow.

The title of this account is as follows:

“ - - - Sexto.”

The Revells. An estimate of the contents and value of soche parcells and stuff as was delyvered owte of the storehowses of the kinge his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Revells and Tentes to be imployed to the furnytüre of the Lorde of Mysrule and his retynewe, appoynted in the Co<sup>te</sup> to that purpose, duringe the time of Christmas, anno prædicto over and besydes the charge of all manner of furnytüre and garnyshing, appoynted and incydent to and for himself and his bande and theire doings, bowghte and provided to that use and purpose, as by a like estimate of the same playnely maye apeare.”

The other charge above referred to is intituled,

“ The Revells }  
at Christmas, } vidz.

For the Lorde }  
of Mysrule } a<sup>o</sup>. r. r. }  
maskes and } E. vj<sup>ti</sup>. } quinto.  
triumphes. }

Workes done w<sup>th</sup>in the same office aswell for the making and furniture of divers apparells liveies and properties for the Lorde of Mysrule, his retinewe and doings, w<sup>th</sup>in the time of Christmas aforesaid, as for the altera<sup>co</sup>n and furniture of certein Maskes fynyshed and occupied that tyme, and for the making, garnyshing, and settinge oute of Bases, barbes and caparisons w<sup>th</sup> trappo<sup>rs</sup> and complete furniture for iiij<sup>or</sup> Chalengers and their xx<sup>te</sup> horses, well appointed, prepared, and used in and for the

<sup>a</sup> This seems to be a mistake in the date; the Duke of Somerset was condemned Oct. 1551, and executed 22d January following, both in the 5th of Edw. VI. the sixth year of whose reign did not begin till 28th Jan.



tryumphe and Justes then done; w<sup>th</sup> the sumes of money dewe, aswell for the wages of y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>k</sup>emen thereof, as to the Creditors for empsons and pvision of the garniture and other necessities, occupied and spent in and about the same, w<sup>th</sup> all manner of cariages thereof, begynninge the xij<sup>th</sup> of December, a<sup>o</sup>. prædicto and continued untill the vij<sup>th</sup> of January next ensuing as followith, vidz."

This great personage was attended by his heir apparent, three other sons, and two natural sons (here stiled base sons); counsellors, pages of honour, gentlemen ushers, serjeants at arms, a provost marshal, under marshal, lieutenant of ordnance, heralds for himself, others for Venus, a trumpeter for himself and one for Venus, an orator, truchman, a jailor, footmen, a messenger, an Irish-man, an Irish-woman, six hunters, jugglers, a fool for his lordship, and one for Venus.

Part of the entertainment was the triumph of Mars and Venus, in which the former was represented by his lordship. It is not said by whom Venus was represented.

There were justs and tournaments, in which four challengers were provided with no less than twenty horses, properly caparisoned.

Courts of justice must have been held, in which it should seem that the Lord himself represented the Judge, as no dress is mentioned for that officer; but there were counsellors, serjeants at arms, marshal, under marshal, and a jailor, furnished with gyves and manacles, a pillory, stocks, a gibbet, a block for execution, and an axe; the axe indeed was made of wood, and unless one could suppose that this circumstance was intended to insinuate to the King, that no sharper should be used against his uncle the Duke of Somerset, then under sentence of death in the Tower, it should seem ex-

traordinary that such an apparatus should be exhibited at such a time.

The dresses provided were very splendid and expensive: to give all the particulars would be tiresome; but perhaps a specimen may not be amiss.

For Christmas day and that week, the Lord of Misrule himself had a robe of white bawdekyn, containing nine yeards, at 16s. a yard, garded with a great embroidered gard of cloth of gold, wrought in knots, fourteen yards, at 13s. 4d. a yard, having a furr of red feathers, with a cape of chamblet thrum. A coat of flat silver fine with works, five yards, at 50 shillings, with an embroidered gard of leaves of gold and silk coloured, containing fifteen yards, at 20 shillings. A cap of maintenance of red feathers and chamblett thrum, very rich, with a plume of feathers. A pair of hosen, the breeches made of a garde of cloth of gold imbroidered in paynes, nine yards of garding, at 13s. 4d. lined with silver sarsnet, one ell at 8 shillings. A pair of buskins of white bawdekyn, one yard, at 16 shillings. A pair of pantacles of brydges [qu. Bruges] sattin, 3s. 4d. A girdle of yellow sarsenett 16d. The cost - - - 51*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.*

For New Year's Day and that week, he had a robe of red bawdekyn, nine yards, with a great embroidered gard of purple silver, fourteen yards; a coat of the same materials, and embroidered and garded in like manner; a pair of hosen slopwise, the breeches of cloth of gold, figured with velvett red and green, with a cut gard of cloth of gold on it; a pair of buskins of red bawdekyn. The cost, 34*l.* 14*s.*

A hunting coat of cloth of gold, figured with red and green velvet church-work, six yards, garded with a border of cloth of gold embroidered, thirteen yards, lined with under sleeves of white bawdekyn; a hat of plain cloth of gold, garnished with leaves of green satten. The cost - - - 19*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.*

For Twelfth Day and his progress in London, a robe of wrought purple furred velvet, the inside white and black, like powdered ermins, with a coat, a head-piece, and a scapler of the same, alto-



gether thirteen yards and a quarter, at 30s. a yard, the garment welted about with blue and yellow gold tinsell, thirty yards of welting at 16*d.*; the hat garnished with purple velvet striped with threads of silver; an ell of white and blue taffeta for laces of the same, 22*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

A pair of hosen, the breeches of purple cloth of silver, welted with purple tinsell and gold.

A pair of buskins, striped purple velvet, with threads of silver, 26*l.* 1*s.* 0*d.*

The above sums are exclusive of workmanship and other necessary materials.

The heir apparent had a long fool's coat of yellow cloth of gold, all over figured with velvet, white, red, and green, seven yards and a half, at 40*s.*, garded with plain yellow cloth of gold, at 33*s.* 4*d.*; a hood and a pair of buskins of the same, figured gold, and a girdle of yellow sarsnet.

A long fool's coat of white and red bawdekyn, containing with the hood nine yards; a pair of buskins of crimson bawdekyn, eight oz. of black parsement lace for the garding. In all, 8*l.* 8*s.* 0*d.*

Four long-fool's coats of crimson taffeta and white sarsnet lined with gold and silver lawn, two of them garnished with tinsell gold, and two with yellow satten; four girdles of sarsenet.

Two lesser fool's coats attending on Venus, of white and orange colour satten payned, garded with green and yellow satten, 4*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.*

Dresses were in like manner provided for all the other performers above mentioned, and delivered out of the store of his Majesty's Revells and Tents, valued in the whole 262*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* exclusive of workmanship and other necessary materials.

The Lord of Misrule's charges besides the store out of the Revells, a°. r. r. Edw. 6<sup>th</sup> sexto.

The Mercer for his abovesaid suit of purple furred velvet, 19*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* his counsellors and pages, 35*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.* which with other silks and velvets amounted to - - £ 84 18 3

The Silkwoman for divers lace, fringe, and other furniture of silk and gold to garnish the same	-	-	26	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
The Dresser for 1038 yards of cloth for his liveries for his yeomen and baser officers	-	-	112	12	6
The Taylor and Carvers for workmanship of the same			67	8	10
The Skinner and Fethermaker for furrs and fethers			15	8	8
The Horner for horns to blow; the Turner for daggers, squirts, and other weapons; and the wire-drawer for coins	-	-	2	5	8

It is stated that the whole charges of the Lord of Misrule this year, as well out of the store as bought of new, with the workmanship of both, is - - £651 6 1 $\frac{1}{2}$

It then goes on. For the same Lord, for his Triumph of Mars and Venus,

Grocer, for painter's stuff and the like necessities	£ 15	13	0
Painters, Joiners, and Carvers working on the same	19	12	3
Basketmakers for workmanship and stuff	4	9	8
Milliner, Glover, and others, for stuff spent about the masks	7	7	6
Over and besides, his tylte for his justs, his scaffolds, and his places of execution, to the Carver for hobby horses and other properties made for the same	9	18	0
Carpenter, for workmanship and stuff for the same	3	11	8
Smith, for the workmanship of the same and stuff	0	18	6
All manner of necessities, tools, and utensils, occupied and spent about his furniture and doings, with carriage, boat-hire, and other ordinary charges hereto duly incident	12	7	9

The whole debt due to be paid by the King's Majesty to the creditors and workmen of these charges this year and the last, is - - - - - £717 10 9 $\frac{1}{2}$



In another account of the 4th and 5th of Edw. VI. is the charge for *translating garments*, and new furnishing the same : and for altering and furnishing garments for *the young lords* and *the King's players*, as oft as the commandment was given. One article in this is, for painting *William Somers* garments, 12*d.* He was the King's Fool.

In an account from the 1st to 28th Feb. 1 Edw. VI. the King's Revells and Masks were removed from Warwick Inne<sup>a</sup> to the late dissolved house of Blackfryers in London ; and mention is made of a player playing the Italian ; dresses for fryers ; cardinals hatts ; joyners working on making *the Mounte*,<sup>b</sup> removing it to Westminster, and bringing it back to the Blackfryers ; belonging to which were seven iron axletrees, and there were painted twenty-four heads and coats for antique boys ; and *Nicholas Modena, a stranger*, was paid 14*l.* for his own wages, with twenty-two other carvers working on the moulded work appertaining to the Mounte, as also for clay, plaster Paris, sewet, white paper, flower, glue, syes [size], wax, and coales for drying the moulded work.

In another paper is an account of the expence of making coats, &c. by which it appears that coats of canvas were painted to represent shirts of mail ; that Anthony Tutto (whose name seems to be that of a foreigner,) drew and painted twelve pieces of cloth of gold, and twelve of cloth of silver, very fair, for the bards for the four challengers horses, at 5*s.* each ; gilding a vysar for the Lord of Misrule, occupied in his play before the King, 20*d.* ; eight head pieces of yellow gold sarcenet for the Masks, with mask faces, at 12*d.* ; and that for drawing, traceing, and setting out work for the painters, and attending them all the time, he had in reward 40*s.* ; no less than 563 yards three quarters and half of cloth were employed in making the Lord of Misrule's liveries, that of broad green, was at 8*s.* the yard ; broad

<sup>a</sup> Stow mentions, in the 3d Edw. VI. the Earl of Warwick sending for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to his place in Holborn.

<sup>b</sup> Might this be a representation of Mount Parnassus ?

yellow, red, and white, at 6s. 8d; a furre of drake's necks for facing and furring his lordship's gown, cost 6l. 13s. 4d. ; three doz. of chime bells, at 6s., and four doz. of fox bells, at 2s., were used for his canopy ; fourteen doz. of glasses, at 1d. apeice, not saying for what purpose ; the carpenter was paid, for making a pillory 4s., a pair of stocks 16d., a gibbet 20d., a state 5s., a canopy 16d., a heading axe 12d., a heading block 8d. ; a Vice's dagger and a ladle with a *bable* pendant delivered to the Lord's fool, charged 3s. ; a pair of gyves and manycles of strannge sort of iron, 30s. ; two hundred buttons for the white garments for the Momerye, at 12d. the hundred ; a copper chain gilded for the Lord, and another for Wm. Somer,<sup>a</sup> 20s. each.

Thirty-three taylors were employed day and night, at 12d. the day, and 8d. the night when they worked all night ; the number of days was twenty-five.

Twenty-four taylors or hosiers were also employed.

#### 5 Edw VI.

In 1551, The marshall St. Andrew came [qu. from France ?]

For his entertainment a Banquetting House was set up in Hide Park, with tents for the officers ; the artificers for which were appointed by Sir Thomas Cawarden, and employed from 6th July to the 28th of that month, every man working all hours, except a space to eat and drink, some all night ; extra hours were paid for at a penny an hour ; the day's work, some at 9d., some at 10d. There were joyners working on the roof, and cutting arms and badges ; painters working under Anthony Totto, serjeant painter, and he had a reward of 2l. 13s. 4d. towards his pains and charges in the setting forward of all the painters work. His men were paid from five to fifteen pence a day.

The whole expense amounted to 169l. 9s. 8d.

<sup>a</sup> Mentioned before ; see Grainger, I. 85.



On a paper without date, amongst payments made by Sir Thomas Cawarden, is one,

"Item for a peynted boke of Mr. *Hanse Holby* [Holbein] making 6*l.*"

The children of the King's chapel used to perform plays before the King, being provided with dresses by the Master of the Revells. A play was ordered before the King at Greenwich, after supper on New Year's Day, 32 Hen. VIII.

Masks were holden at Westminster on Shrove Monday and Shrove Tuesday, at after supper.

Amongst the provisions for masks are, twelve vizards with long beards, at 7*s.* 6*d.* each; eight for Mores, at 3*s.* 4*d.*; halberts, helmets, daggers, &c. Forty-eight antique heads sett on the knees, shoulders, backs, and breasts of the men of arms, painted with gold and silver, at 12*d.* each.

Almaynes [Germans] masks, mitres of that mask, mariners mask, vizars for the monstrous torch bearers, horse-manes for them, and dogs chains; trunks standing on staves, eight pair of legs made with rods; given the gardener in reward for rosemary, 5*s.* "Item the King's pleyers in reward for loan of garments, 5*s.* Item the wardens of St. Powles for the loan of certain frames for pageants, 5*s.*"

King Henry VIII. having engaged with the Emperor in a war against France, sent troops who besieged Boulogne; and on 24th July, 1545, in his 36th year, went thither himself. The following paper shews what part of his household accompanied him, and how they were accommodated with lodgings. It is intituled,

Hales (*i. e.* *Tents*.) Rownd-houses with creasents [qu. sheds,] and their apparell, with wagens furnyshed for the carriage of theym, delivered at the kings Ma<sup>ty</sup>s commandement, by thandes of Anthony Aucher, Lievetenante, appoynted frome the xvij<sup>th</sup> daie of July, anno r. r. H. viij. dei gra. &c. xxxvj<sup>to</sup> as followith :

Three officers of the stables for the use of  
 the stables - - - - - 14 hales  
 5 rounde houses  
 5 creasents  
 2 wagens.

Twenty hatchments of the kings arms.

Twelve partitions of canvas of three breades and one hundred  
 manger stakes.

Mr. Mighell Wentworth and Mr. Weldon,  
 to the use of the kings household - - - 6 hales  
 8 rowfes  
 3 round houses  
 3 cresents.

Sixteen hatchments.

Two mannger stakes.

The master cooke of the houshold - - - 1 round house  
 1 hatchment.

Mr. Garter the kinge of harrolds and his  
 company - - - - - 2 halls  
 2 round houses  
 2 crescents  
 2 hatchments.

The kings phisitiens - - - - - 1 hall  
 3 round houses  
 3 crescents  
 1 hatchment.

The woman laundress - - - - - 1 hall, 1 hatchment.

Sir Thomas Darcy, Lieutenant of the k<sup>s</sup>. men  
 at arms - - - - - 41 halls  
 41 round houses  
 41 crescents with so  
 many partitions and  
 15 wagons.



Surgeons and potticarie - - - - 1 hall  
 3 round houses  
 2 crescents and  
 1 hatchment.

	Halls.	Round houses.	Cresc <sup>ts</sup> .	Partitions.	Hatch- ments.
Grooms of the privy chamber -	1	1	1	1	2
One close waggon					
Seven maninger stakes					
The king's armorye - - - -	1	1	1	-	1
The garde - - - - -	40	-	-	-	-
without walls					
3 waggons					
Mr. Phillip and the children -	1	1	2	-	1
Wardrobe of the beds - -	1	1	1	-	1
1 waggon					
Wardrobe of the king's cooks -	1	2	2	-	1
The Lord Marshall for the house of					
judgment - - - - -	1	-	-	-	-
Mr. Secretary for the council house	1	-	-	-	-
Mr. Jennyngs - - - - -	1	1	-	-	-
Mr. Buttes, <sup>a</sup> for hurt and maimed men	1	-	-	-	-
John Peerse, to be the house of relief					
for the garde - - - - -	1	-	-	-	-
The Footmen - - - - -	1	-	-	-	-
Mr. Hobbye - - - - -	-	1	-	-	-
My Lord Admiral - - - - -	1	-	-	-	-
My Lord Harbert and my Lord of					
Rutland - - - - -	-	1	-	-	-
Mr. Wentforde and Mr. Warner -	-	1	-	-	-
and 1 waggon					
The Clerk of the Closet - - -	-	1	-	-	-

<sup>a</sup> Physician to the king.

	Halls.	Round houses.	Crescents.	Partitions.	Hatch- ments.
Mr. Edgare - - - -	2	1	1	2	—
Mr. Madox of the Pantry - -	—	1 old, all blew			
Mr. Deny - - - -	1	—	—	—	—
Geo. Gates for the king's coffers	1	—	—	—	—
The Archers - - - -	1	—	—	—	—
My Lord Admiral - - - -	1	—	—	—	—
Shelton and Aldaye - - - -	1	—	—	—	—
	of three brede.				
Lawrence Bradshaw - - - -	1	—	—	—	—
	of three brede.				

Halls - - - -	132
Round houses - - - -	72
Roufes without houses - - - -	8
Crescents - - - -	62
Hatchments - - - -	49
Partitions - - - -	12
Mannger stakes - - - -	102
Waggons - - - -	22

- iijs. Thomas Carden [Cawarden] one of the gentlemen of the prevy Chambre, with the king's Ma<sup>tie</sup> asketh allowance for cootts for iiij<sup>c</sup>. iiij.<sup>xx</sup> persons, being footmen - - - - money £78 0 0
- iijs. vijd. Item for the conduct money of 150 persons frome Newbury to Dover, distance cx. myles, at oð the myle for evy of them - - - - 34 7 6
- vs. Item twenty-six from Looksley and Stecoote in Warwickshire to Dover cxx. myles - - - - 6 10 0
- ijs. xjd. Forty from Nonsuch to Dover, 70 myles - - - - 5 6 8
- iijs. jd. Twenty from Blechinglee to Dover, 74 myles - - - - 3 1 8
- ijs. vjd. One hundred and fifty-four persons, being arti-



ficers, as taylers, showmakers, carpenters, paynters, smiths, wheelwrights, and coffer makers, from London to Dover, 60 myles	-	19	5	0
xvijs. iiij <i>d</i> . Three petey Capytaynes, from Newburye to Dover, being horsemen, 110 miles, at 2 <i>d</i> . the mile	- - - - -	3	5	0
Sixty-six horsemen, from London to Dover, 60 myles, at o <i>b</i>	- - - - -	8	2	6
		<hr/>		
	Sm <sup>a</sup>	-	-	157 18 4
Rof	- - - -	cxx <i>l</i> .		
Sol.	- - - -	vij <i>l</i> . ix <i>s</i> . iiij <i>d</i> .		
Angell	- - - -	vij		
Rof	- - - -	x		
Rof and Ducat	- - - -	xij ix		
		<hr/>		
		Clvij.	xviij.	iiij.

This perhaps relates to the same expedition.

For the King's Majeste,

Twenty-eight horses, fourteen days, at 4½ <i>d</i> . a day and night, hay, litter and provindre	- - - - -	7	7	0
Four kepers wages and boardwages, same time, each 6 <i>s</i> . 2 <i>d</i> .	- - - - -	1	4	8
For canves at Callys, C. crowns; and for roeps bowght thear, vs. 33 H. VIII. Taylors working on Tents, per day	-	6 <i>d</i> .		
Carpenters	- - - - -	8		
Shoemakers	- - - - -	6		

It has been mentioned that the Master of the Revells had also the care of the King's Tents and Pavilions, and it seems that these accompanied the King on his removes.

King Hen. VIII. in his 38th year, went to Hampton Court, Ote-lands and Chobham, taking up from 15th July to 5th Sept., on which occasion the yeoman of the Revells had to convey from the late

dissolved house at black fryers, to attend the King, a large house made of *forse* with timber and boards, tents, halls, pavilions, and timber houses, which were conveyed partly by water, partly by land. The windows for these houses were made of horn, price, some 2s. some 3s. 10d. the hundred; the *glasier* for his work 10d. a day. 2168 *lb.* of wax, at 6d. was spent in searing 1647 yards of new *vytrye* canvas for the covering of the timber houses and banketing houses. The workmen employed consisted of taylors and carpenters, 6d. to 8d. a day; sawyers, 14d.; cordwainers, 6d.; joiners, 7d. to 12d.; glasiers, 6d. to 10d.; coffer maker, basket maker, and labourers, 6d.

In 1543, is a charge for carts for carrying the King's tents from London to Chobham; one for carrying his bedchamber, at 2d. a mile; carrying the tents from Chobham to Guildford, and thence to Sunning-hill, . A cart to bring the King's bedchamber from Nonesuch to London.

What are called *Halls* seem to be *Stables*, some of which had a round-house at the end for the Equerries [Grooms] to lie in.

In an account of these in the time of Hen. VIII., but without a date, on some progress of the king, he had in his train no less than 108 hobbies, geldings, coursers, mulets, sompter-horses, and other carriage horses. For twelve of the hobbies and geldings for the king's own saddle, there was a hall, with a round house at the end for the equerries to lie in. The like for twelve corsers for the king's saddle, to be ridden upon with the henchmen. There was a Barberry horse, two *moylts* for the saddle, four litter mulets, three bottle horses, a *male* horse, two post horses, a horse for carriage of the king's stole for the stirrop [stool to mount by?]; ten great horses to be ridden upon with the riders; sixty great horse geldings, mulets and carriage horse, one hall for every twenty; the clerk of the stables had a hall for dressing and keeping the king's stuff, and a round house at the end for him to lie in; three avenors [officers in the stable,] one hall for keeping their books for the purveyor's reckonings; the serjeant of the carriage, and serjeant farrier, had one for



their stuff and to work in; the sadler, stirrop-maker, and bit-maker had one for their stuff and to work in; one for three surveyors and post-man, who hath the custody of all the horse-cloths, trammells, pasterns, colors, horse-combs, with pails for watering the horses, and the measure for serving the horses with oats; and the purveyors had one for safe keeping such provisions as they should make for the king's use.

Besides these, there were, for the Ordinarie of the Stable, viz.

Two horse [of the close stool.]

The fool's horse.

Four for the Master of the Horse.

Two for my Lord Herbert.

Ten for the five equerries.

Six for the three clerks of the avery.

Two for the clerk of the stable.

Six for the three surveyors.

Two for Mr. Ogle.

Two for the serjcant of the carriage.

Two for the seijeant farrier.

Five for five riders.

One for the marshall farrier.

Four for the four purveyors.

Three for the three garnators.

One for the yeoman sadler.

One for the yeoman of the stirrop.

One for the yeoman of the close carriage.

Three for the three yeomen farriers.

Three for the three groom farriers.

Five for the grooms of the stirrop.

One for the keeper of the litter mulets.

Seven for the sompter-men.

Two for the post-man.

In the whole Seventy Six.

Then follows an Estimate for new necessary houses ;

	houses.	carriages.
Three halls, three pavilions for vytelers of three wards	6	3
Master of the household's clerk, clarke of the kitchen		
a large house - - - - -	1	1
Bakehouse one, pantry one, buttery one, cellar one,		
house of relyffe one - - - - -	5	2
Spicery, chandery, one large hall ; ewry, confect <sup>r</sup> and		
wafry, one large hall - - - - -	2	2
Laundry, woodyard, one hall ; kitchen, one large ;		
larder, one ; catry, one ; boiling-house, one mean hall -	5	5

Master cooke for the King, one round house ; and the same to be carried in poultry and scalding house.



XXXIX. *Copy of an Appointment of a Lord of Misrule; communicated by WILLIAM BRAY, Esq. in a Letter to SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. F. R. S. Vice President.*

Read 6th Feb. 1817.

DEAR SIR,

I LATELY addressed to you some account of a person known by the title of *Lord of Misrule*, whose office it was to amuse the King and other great men by his frolicks during the twelve days of the Christmas holidays. I have since met with an account of the power with which he was invested in the Mansion House of Richard Evelyn, of Wotton in Surrey, Esq. a gentleman of considerable fortune, who always kept open house during those days of mirth and jollity; but, who being High Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in 1634, seems to have called in the assistance of this officer to celebrate the feast with more than usual ceremony. Perhaps it may serve as a supplement to the former Paper, but you will make what use of it you please.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble Servant,

W. BRAY.

Great Russell Street,  
7th Jan. 1817.

“ARTICLES made and appoynted by the Right Wo<sup>ll</sup> Richard Evelyn, Esq. High Sheriffe and Deputie Leavetenaunt to the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup> for the Counties of Surrey and Sussex.

IMPRIMIS, I giue free leave to Owen Flood my Trumpeter, gent. to be Lo<sup>d</sup> of Misrule of all good Orders during the twelve dayes. And also I give free leave to the said Owen Flood to comānd all and every person or persons whatsoev<sup>r</sup>, as well servants as others, to be at his

comānd whensoev<sup>r</sup> he shall sound his Trumpett or Musick, and to do him good service as though I were present my selfe, at their perills.

His Lo<sup>pp</sup> commaunds every person or persons whatsoev<sup>r</sup> to appeare at the Hall at seaven of the Clocke in the morninge, to be at prayers, and afterwards to be at his Lo<sup>pps</sup> commaunds, upon paine of punishment, accordinge as his Lo<sup>pp</sup> shall thinke fitt.

If any person shall sware any oath w<sup>th</sup>in the precinct of the - - - shall suffer punishment at his Lo<sup>pps</sup> pleasure.

If any man shall come into the Hall, and sett at dinner or supper more than once, he shall endure punishment at his Lo<sup>pps</sup> pleasure.

If any man shalbee drunke, or drinke more than is fitt, or offer to sleepe during the time abovesaid, or do not drinke up his bowle of beere, but flings away his snuffe (that is to say) the second draught, he shall drinke two, and afterwards be excluded.

If any man shall quarrell, or give any ill language to any person duringe the abovesaid twelve dayes w<sup>th</sup>in the gates or precinct thereof, he is in danger of his Lo<sup>pps</sup> displeasure.

If any person shall come into the kitchen whiles meate is a dressinge, to molest the cookes, he shall suffer the rigor of his Lo<sup>pps</sup> law.

If any man shall kisse any maid, widdow, or wife, except to bid welcome or farewell, w<sup>th</sup>out his Lo<sup>pps</sup> consent, he shall have punishment as his Lo<sup>pp</sup> shall thinke convenient.

The last article; I give full power and authoritie to his Lo<sup>pp</sup> to breake up all lockes, bolts, barres, doores, and latches, and to flinge up all doores out of hendges to come at those whoe presume to disobey his Lo<sup>pps</sup> commaunds.

God save the King."

In the Diary of this Gentleman's son, John Evelyn, Esq. it appears that his father kept his Shrievalty of Surrey and Sussex in 1634, in a most splendid manner. At Wotton is an account of his particular charge attending it, amounting to no less than 802*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.*, besides his extraordinary entertainments for his house at Christmas.



In those days of hospitality, when the Hall of the Great House was open to the neighbours during the Christmas Holidays, they used to contribute some trifle towards the provisions; a list has been kept of what were sent to Mr. Evelyn on this occasion, which were as follows;

Two sides of Venison.

Two half Brawns.

Three Pigs.

Ninety Capons.

Five Geese.

Six Turkeys.

Four Rabbits.

Eight Partridges.

Two Pullets.

Five Sugar Loaves.

$\frac{1}{2}$  lb. Nutmegs.

One basket of Apples and Eggs.

Three baskets of Apples.

Two baskets of Pears.

What more were wanted, together with the Roast Beef and Strong Beer of Old England, were furnished from his own stock.

XL. *Observations on the Origin of the principal Features of Decorative Architecture: by SAMUEL WARE, Esq. F. S. A. in a Letter addressed to NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.*

Read 9th January, 1817.

5, John Street, Adelphi;  
Dec. 17, 1816.

SIR,

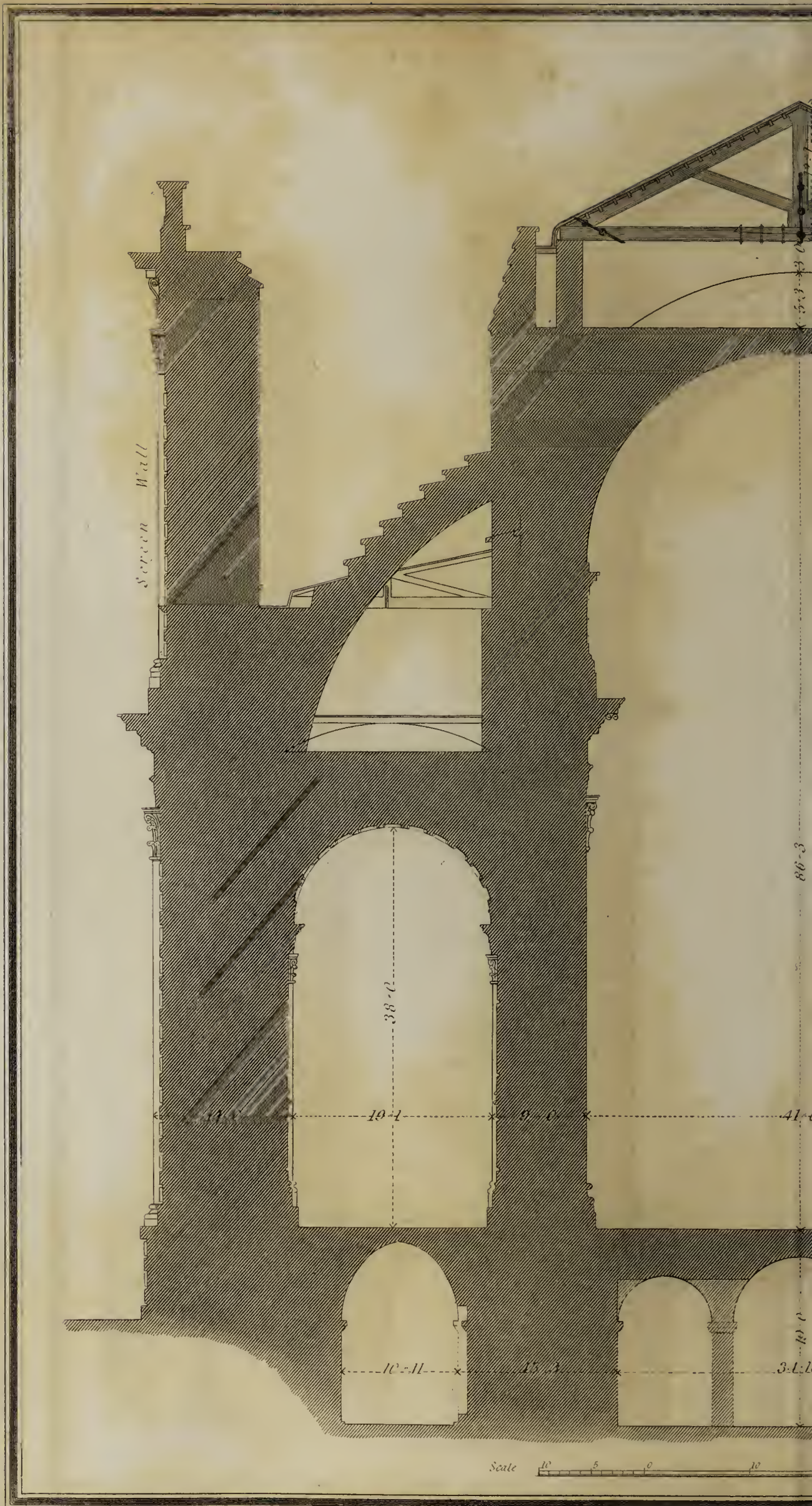
**D**URING an inquiry into the Theory of Equilibration of Arches, I had occasion to take sections of those buildings in this country most remarkable for the arcuation in them; and circumstances induced me to select Trinity Church Ely, King's College Chapel Cambridge, Westminster Abbey, Ely, Lincoln, York, and Peterborough Cathedrals. The three sections, viz. of St. Paul's Cathedral, of the Temple Church, and of Henry the VIIth's Chapel, which I have sent with this, (Pl. XXI. XXII. XXIII.) were made at a subsequent period, when I was engaged in the inquiry into the different forms of vaults, which led to the Observations published in the seventeenth volume of the *Archaeologia*.

Sections in this manner, which relate merely to constructive architecture, deserve more attention than has hitherto been paid to them; for from a knowledge of force and resistance, which these sections are peculiarly calculated to display, a sure guide is obtained to the origin of the principal features of decorative architecture.

In Roman architecture, and in that which succeeded it nearly to the 12th century, abutments to vaults were walls, and a building whose ceiling was vaulted, required walls of a thickness useless for its stability, and purposes in other respects; and at the revival of Roman architecture, after the middle ages, the same practice was adopted.



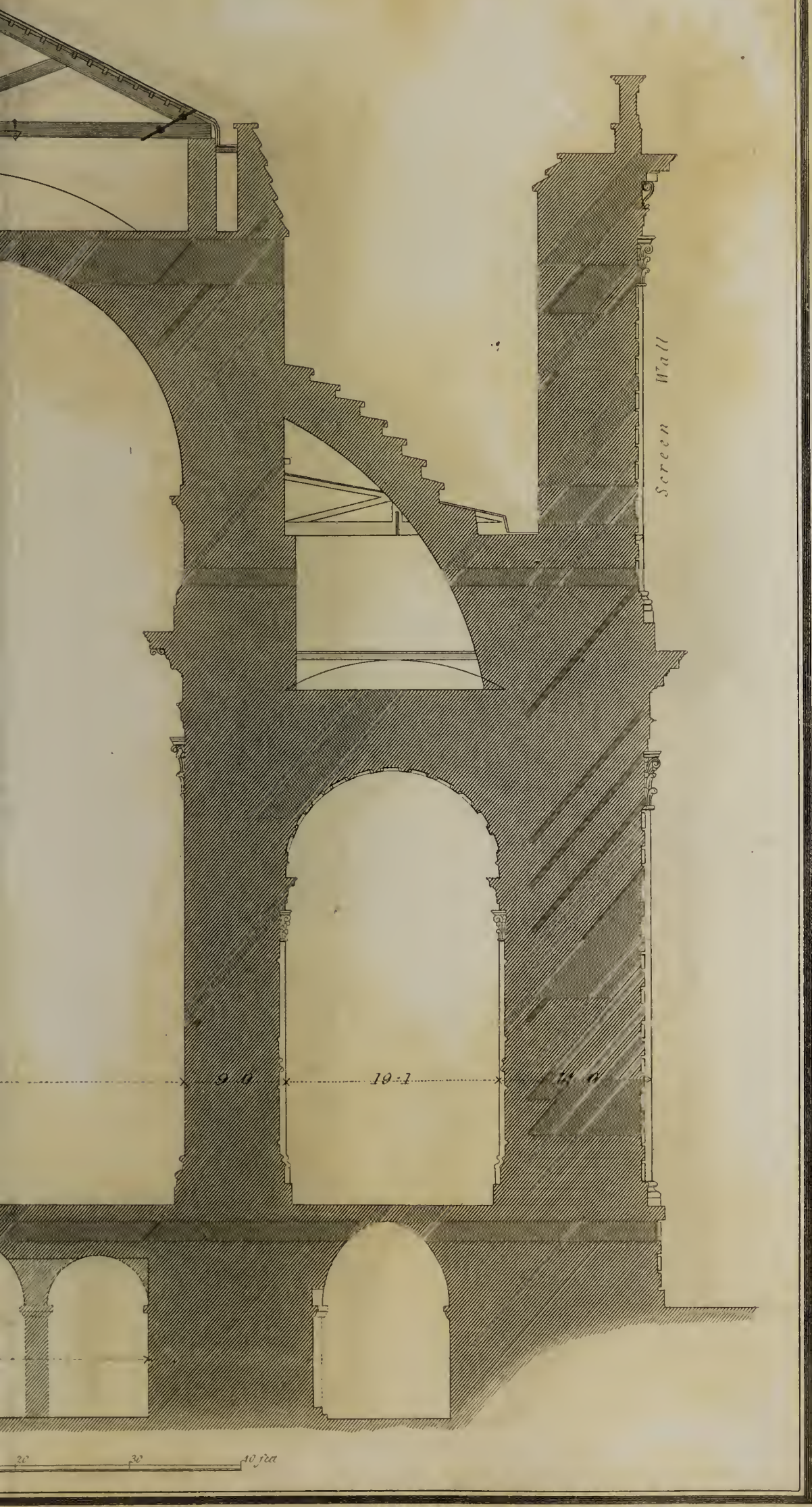


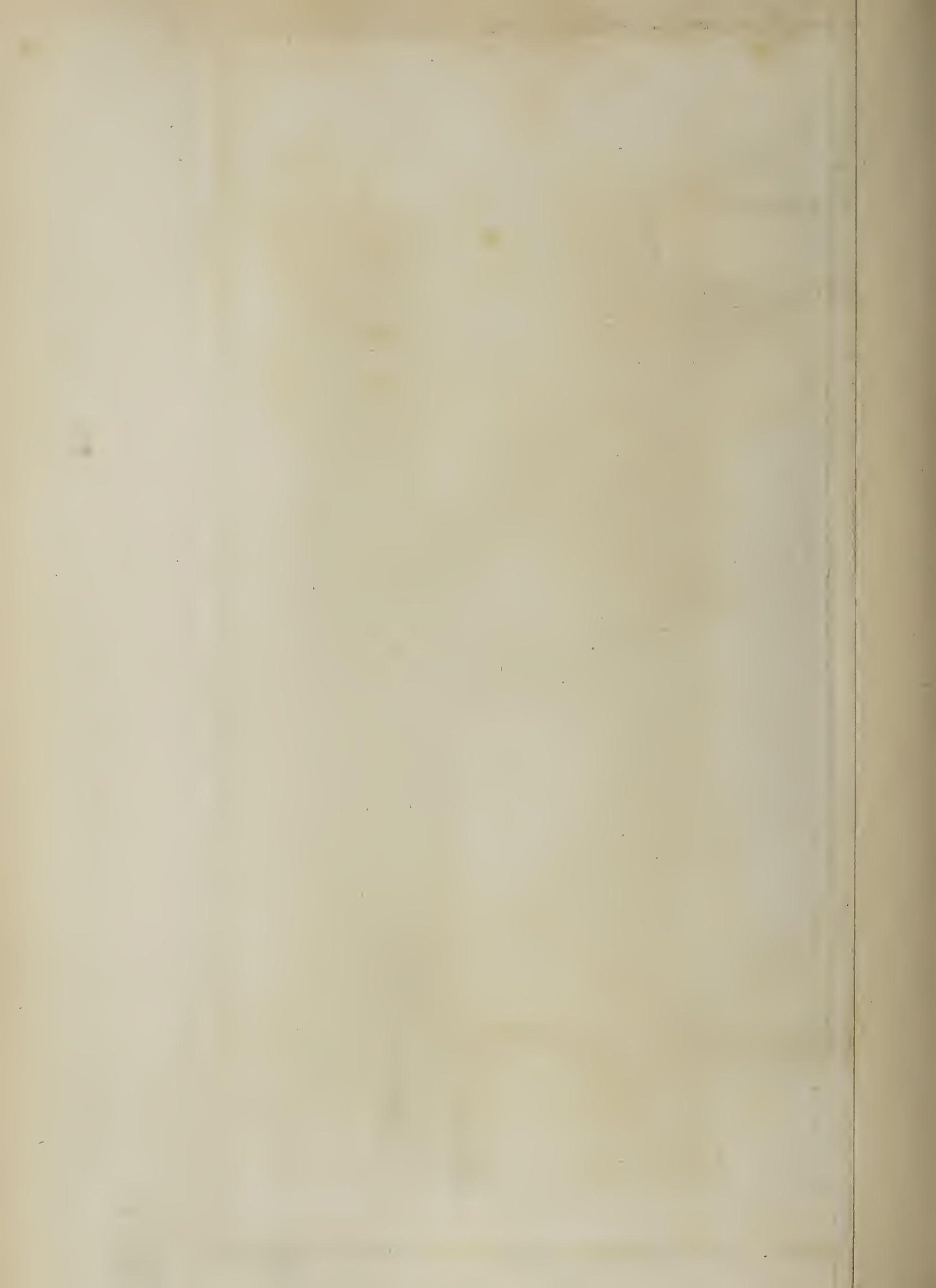


Sam'l Ware del.

Section through the Nave and





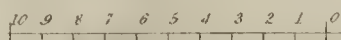








Scale



10

20













Jas. Basire, sculp.





In the architecture which immediately succeeded Roman architecture, vaulted ceilings were confined to the aisles and lower parts of ecclesiastical buildings. As soon as the buttress and flying buttress were invented, or the expedient of strengthening the wall where it received the greatest pressure, became in use, vaults were raised of great height without apprehension of endangering the buildings to which they served as ceilings; and a new stile of architecture was developed.

In a reference to the plans of Roman buildings whose ceilings were vaulted, it will be seen how great a waste of material and labour was occasioned by the ignorance of the use of the buttress, or by the unwillingness to permit it to form a prominent feature. It is true, that in many instances the buildings of this stile have niches and cavities in their walls, which in some measure produce the mechanical effect of buttresses, and diminish the quantity of material: but in consequence of the buttress not being permitted to form a feature, the external architecture of buildings so constructed wants the bold character, which belongs to Grecian architecture through its ranges of columns, and to Gothic architecture through its ranges of buttresses. As the art of Grecian architecture consisted in the decoration of the column and entablature, and produced the several orders and varieties of them; so that of Roman architecture consisted in the decoration of the wall, whence arose the pilaster architecture of St. Peter and St. Paul. In like manner the decoration of the buttress produced the fretted niches, canopies, statues, and pinnacles, with finials and curling foliage from them; which characterize Gothic architecture.

The pointed arch is commonly held to designate this kind of building; but, as it is to be found in all descriptions of eastern architecture, either simply or in trefoil, or cinquefoil arches, it is not so proper a test as the buttress; which, as a part of the design of a building, is peculiar to the Gothic stile. As the column of Grecian architecture, at first a member of use, became afterwards the principal source of ornament; so the buttress and its accompaniments compose

the most florid examples of Gothic architecture, such as are to be found in the screens, altars, and façades of our ecclesiastical buildings.

From the investigations into the equilibration of arches, and into the various forms of vaults, I endeavoured to shew, in the Observations which the Society of Antiquaries did me the honour to publish, that the pointed arch was not a form of imitation, but arose from the necessity for its production, and out of the practice of groined vaulting; and the same opinion is very forcibly supported, in a tract in the same volume, by Mr. Saunders. It is also manifest, that from the practice of vaulting the naves of the cathedrals, the invention of the buttress must have arisen; for common sense could not long endure such a wasteful mode of building as that of using a wall where a buttress would perform the same duty. If, therefore, we derive all the ornamental tracery and panneling of Gothic architecture from the invention of the pointed arch, we shall derive the other characteristics of this stile, such as the pinnacles, niches, canopies, finials, and curling foliage from the buttress; and the whole stile directly from the practice of vaulting the naves of the cathedrals, with which all these characteristics are contemporaneous.

The section of St. Paul's Cathedral was taken through the piers and walls, in order to enable me to form a comparison with the sections of other buildings which I had taken; it will be seen how nearly it conforms to the Gothic works in the principle of construction. I was induced more particularly to take this section, because Sir Christopher Wren attempts to demonstrate, "that the Eastern way of vaulting by hemispheres, requires less butment than the diagonal cross vaulting," (see the Tract, page 357, Parentalia,) but the conclusion from a comparison of the several sections will be contrary to his; for instance, the naves of St. Paul's and Lincoln Cathedrals are nearly of the same height and width, while the piers of the one are double the diameter of the columns of the other; and its continued wall exceeds in thickness the walls and buttresses together of the



other by one-half: besides which, in St. Paul's Cathedral, there is the assistance from the vertical weight of the screen wall, which extends the whole lengths of the north and south fronts. It is difficult to conceive for what purpose Sir Christopher Wren could have erected, except for the purpose of hiding the flying buttresses, this part of the structure.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient and very humble Servant,

SAMUEL WARE.

To Nicholas Carlisle, Esq.

&c. &c. &c.

XLI. *Observations upon some Celtic Remains, lately discovered by the Public Road leading from London to Cambridge, near to the Village of Sawston, distant seven miles from the University; by EDWARD DANIEL CLARKE, LL.D. Professor of Mineralogy in the University of Cambridge. Communicated by the Rev. THOMAS KERRICH, M. A. F. S. A.*

Read 23d January, 1817.

IT is not attaching too high a degree of importance to the study of *Celtic* antiquities, to maintain, that, owing to the attention now paid to it in this country, a light begins to break in upon that part of ancient history, which, beyond every other, seemed to present a forlorn investigation. All that relates to the aboriginal inhabitants of the north of Europe, would be involved in darkness but for the enquiries now instituted respecting *Celtic* sepulchres. From the information already received, concerning these sepulchres, it may be assumed, as a fact almost capable of actual demonstration, that the *mounds*, or barrows, common to all Great Britain, and to the neighbouring continent, together with all the *tumuli* fabled by *Grecian* and by *Roman* historians as the *tombs of Giants*, are so many several vestiges of that mighty family of *Titan-Celts* who gradually possessed all the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, and who extended their colonies over all the countries where *Cyclopéan* structures may be recognized; whether in the walls of *Crotona*, or the temple at *Stonehenge*; in the *Cromlechs of Wales*, or the *trilithal* monuments of *Cimbrica Chersonesus*; in Greece, or in *Asia-Minor*; in Syria, or in *Egypt*. It is with respect to *Egypt* alone, that an exception might perhaps be required; but history, while it deduces the origin of the







Fig. 1.

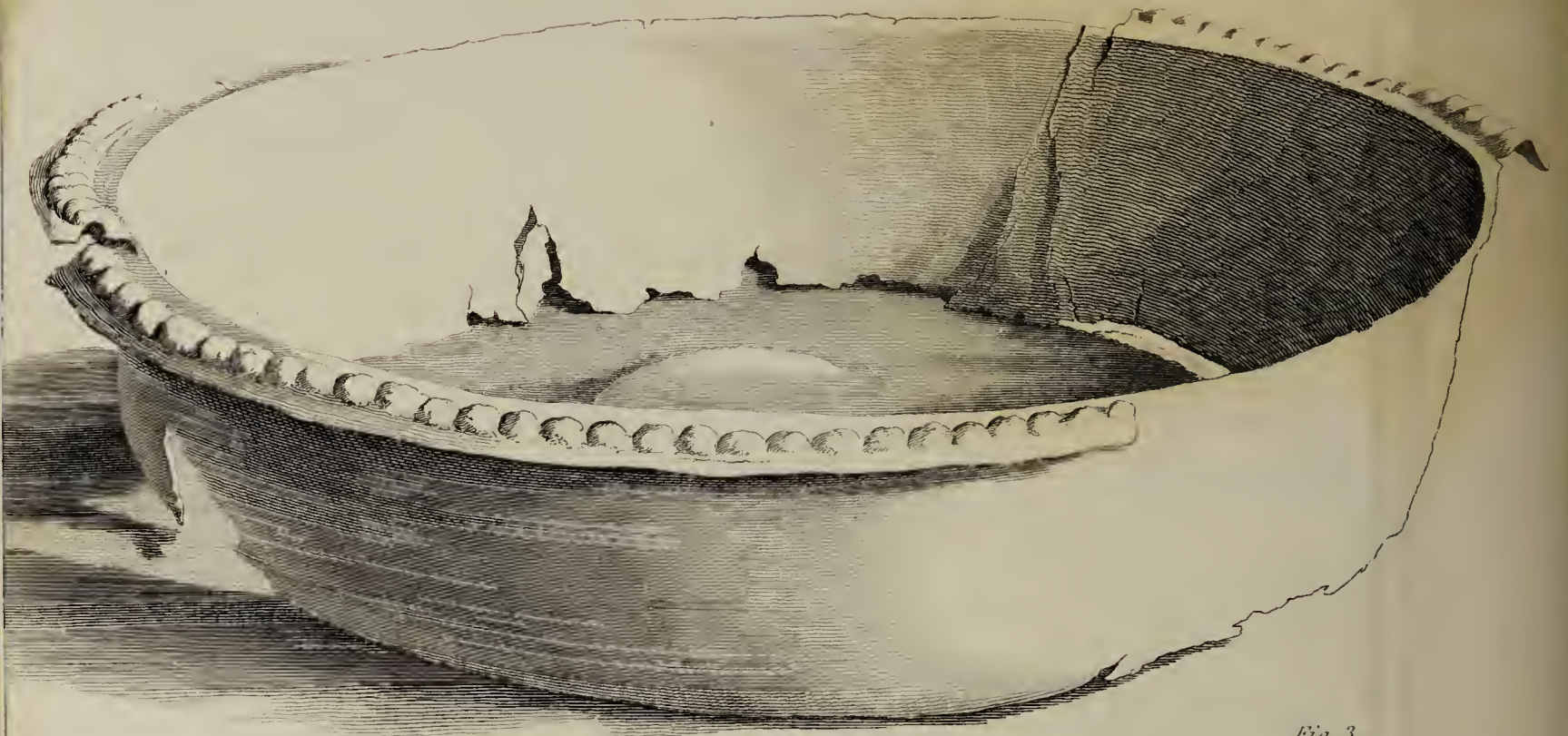


Fig. 3.

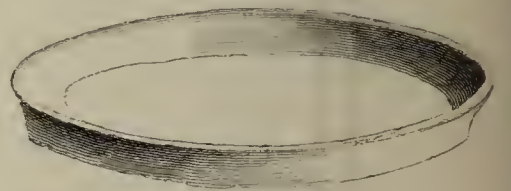


Fig. 2.

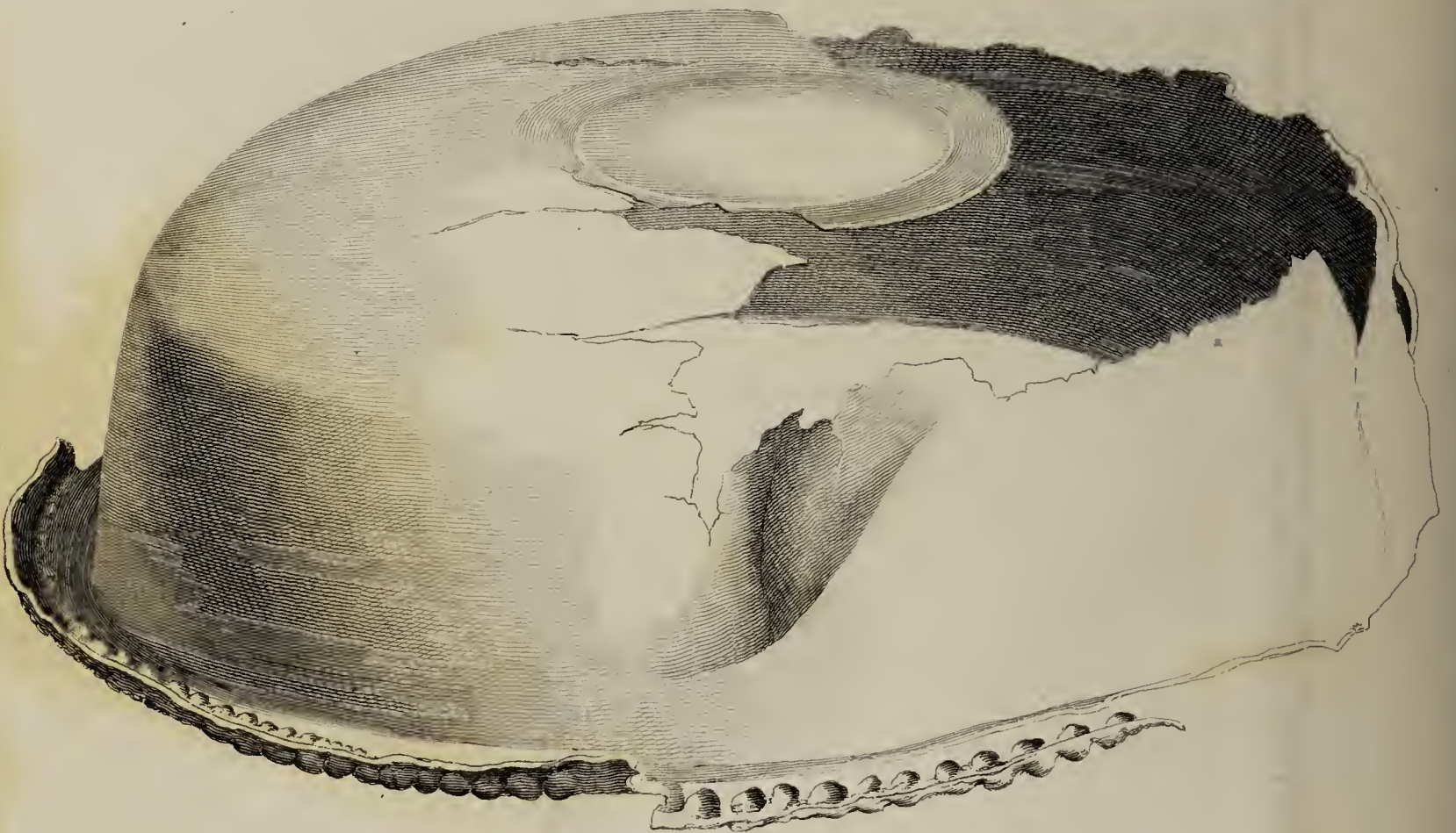






Fig. 1.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 9.

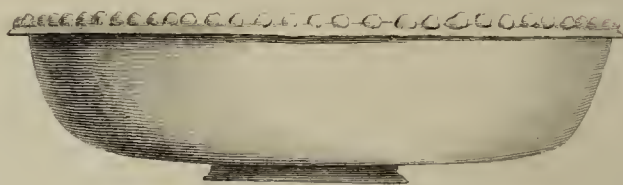


Fig. 6.



Fig. 8.

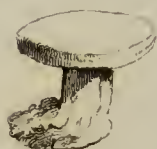


Fig. 5.





worship of *Minerva*, at *Sais*, from the *Phrygians*, also relates of this people, that they were the oldest of mankind.<sup>a</sup> The *Cyclopéan* architecture of *Egypt* may therefore be referred originally to the same source; but, as in making the following Observations brevity must be a principal object, it will be necessary to divest them of every thing that may seem like a Dissertation; and confine the statement, here offered, to the simple *narrative* of those facts, which have led to its introduction.

Upon the third of August of the present year (1816), as some labourers were employed in the removal of gravel, for the purpose of lowering the road upon the top of a small eminence, called *Huckeridge Hill*, near *Sawston*, they discovered the remains of a human skeleton, lying about three feet below the surface of the ground. At the feet of the skeleton stood *two vessels* of ancient bronze; one of these vessels, and the larger of the two, was ornamented upon the rim by chase-work, in bosses, all round the circumference: it measures fifteen inches in diameter. (Pl. XXIV. fig. 1 and 2.) The other has a place on one side, with a hole in it, as if there had been receptacles for a semi-circular handle to support it over a fire; it measures ten inches in diameter. (Pl. XXV. fig. 4.) On the left side of the skeleton were found some fragments of the coarsest black *terra-cotta*, half an inch in thickness; also an iron *Sword*, two feet seven inches and a half in length, in a state of such advanced decomposition, owing to the oxidation of the metal, that, where fresh broken, it does not exhibit any appearance of metallic lustre; but rather resembles the scoria, or slag of an iron furnace. (Pl. XXV. fig. 5.) This *Sword*, in its present state, weighs thirty-one ounces. The remains of the larger *bronze* vessel weigh two pounds eight ounces; those of the smaller vessel, one pound. There was besides, a massy *bronze* ring, (Pl. XXIV. fig. 3.) four inches one-eighth in diameter, weighing eight ounces; and this proved

<sup>a</sup> Λέγονται φρύγες παλαιότατοι ανθρώπων. Arrian, sicut apud Eustathium, Comment. in Dionys. Perieg. p. 107. Paris, 1577.

upon examination to have been the foot of the larger vessel, originally fastened to the bottom of it with a whitish cement; part of which yet remains, adhering to the metal. The restoration of the foot to its original position, adds considerably to the elegance of the form of this curious vessel; Mr. *Kerrich* has therefore introduced an elevation of the larger vessel, as he conceives it to have been in its original state. (Pl. XXV. fig. 9.) There was also part of the *umbo* of a Shield, (Pl. XXV. fig. 6.) which is of *Iron*, measuring, in its present state, four inches in diameter; and weighing seven ounces: also a *bronze* broach, or buckle, weighing half an ounce, formed so as to resemble an *Amphisbæna*, or *double headed serpent*, with the heads inflected, (Pl. XXV. fig. 7.) and a small iron *fibula*, (Pl. XXV. fig. 8.) perhaps belonging either to the *shield* or to the handle of the *Sword*. It should moreover be stated, that several *lance heads*, and what are called *Celts*, were discovered near the same sepulchre a few years before, which are now in the possession of Mr. *Farish*, Surgeon, of Cambridge.

The antiquities here described were removed, at my request, to the University, by whom they were purchased, and where they now are. I am indebted to the *Rev. Mr. Kerrich* our principal Librarian, for suggesting the probable nature of the *Umbo*, to the form of which I was a stranger; and the same Gentleman having kindly undertaken to accompany these Observations with his own accurate and beautiful drawings of these antiquities, it is to those designs that all the perspicuity of the present description will be due. Upon the first discovery of these reliques it was conjectured that they were *Roman*; but there is nothing *Roman* in their character; indeed the form of the *Sword*, in the opinion of Mr. *Kerrich*, is not *Roman*. The *terracotta* has every appearance which may serve to connect it with those early specimens of the art of making earthen-ware, that are found accompanying *Celtic* remains. Otherwise, the situation of this sepulchre, so near to the *public road*, added to the vicinity of the old *military station* upon the *Gogmagog Hills*, might induce an opinion of its *Roman* origin. Another circumstance which seems to refer these



antiquities to an earlier period than the time of the *Romans* in Britain, is the nature of the compound whereof the metallic vessels here discovered were fabricated; an alloy of *Copper* and *Tin* being used, instead of *Orichalcum*, or *Copper* and *Zinc*. This fact, however, does not afford positive testimony, because having recently analyzed some of the *Roman* medals, I find that *bronze*, or the alloy of *Copper* and *Tin*, was used for coinage by the *Romans* in the *second* century. The coins of *Antoninus Pius*, and of his successor *Marcus Aurelius*, consist of  $\frac{88}{100}$  of *Copper* combined with  $\frac{12}{100}$  of *Tin*. The *bronze* vessels here described consist of the same metals, combined in the same proportion. I found them to consist of  $\frac{88}{100}$  of *Copper* with  $\frac{12}{100}$  of *Tin*. I shall therefore conclude these Observations with an account of the process which I used in their chemical analysis.

Having selected some of the smaller fragments, I caused them to be as highly polished as possible, in order that all impurity and extraneous matter might be removed. One hundred grains of the polished metal were then boiled in *Nitric Acid*, until all the *Copper* was dissolved, and nothing remained but a white milky sediment, which being collected on a filter, and carefully washed, weighed fifteen grains. The same sediment was then partly dissolved in *muratic acid*; a single drop was detached by means of a glass rod, which drop immediately precipitated *Platinum* from its solution in *Nitro Muratic Acid*. The presence of *Tin* being thereby fully manifested, it follows that an hundred parts of the *Metallic Alloy* analyzed, contain 88 parts of *Copper*, added to 12 parts of *Tin*; and this *alloy* is therefore not the *Orichalcum*<sup>a</sup> of the *Romans* but *bronze*.

EDWARD DANIEL CLARKE.

Cambridge, Dec. 12, 1816.

<sup>a</sup> That the *Orichalcum* of the *Romans* contained *Zinc*, is evident from the following passage of *Sextus Pompeius Festus*.

“CADMEA TERRA, quæ in æs conjicitur, ut fiat ORICHALCUM.”

*Festus de Verbor. Signif.* p. 28, *Paris*, 1584.

XLII. *Some Remarks on a Coin of Basilis, a City in Arcadia.*  
By TAYLOR COMBE, Esq. Sec. R. S. Director.

Read January 25th, 1816.



*W. L. Colman del.*

*J. B. Kneller sc.*

I BEG leave to offer to the Society of Antiquaries, a description of an unique Greek coin which I met with at Malta, in the year 1812, and which I have subsequently been fortunate enough to procure for the collection of the British Museum.

The Coin is of silver, and weighs  $236\frac{3}{10}$  grains; it is in the highest state of preservation, and the beauty of the workmanship cannot be exceeded.

The obverse represents a bearded head, covered by a Phrygian bonnet, and crowned with a diadem.

On the reverse is a Lyre with the legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΑ, the letters of which entirely fill the area of the coin, and are engraved in the same perpendicular direction, so as to be read at one view, without the necessity of altering the position of the coin.



From the letters which compose the above inscription, and from the type of the obverse, I have no doubt that the Coin was struck at Basilis in Arcadia, a town mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus<sup>a</sup> as being situated in that part of Greece. ΒΑΣΙΑ is here an abbreviation of ΒΑΣΙΛΑΙΤΩΝ; the term ΒΑΣΙΛΙΤΗΣ being used, according to the above mentioned writer, to designate the inhabitants or natives of that city.

The city of Basilis was situated near the river Alpheus. In the time of Pausanias, who flourished in the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, this city was in ruins,<sup>b</sup> but he mentions that there were in his time, among the ruins, the remains of a temple of Eleusinian Ceres; that the City was founded by Cypselus, and was about the distance of ten stadia from a place of the name of Bathos.

These two authors, namely, Stephanus Byzantinus and Pausanias, are the only ancient writers, as far as I have been able to discover, who have made any *direct* mention of Basilis. There is, however, a passage in Athenæus in which the city of Basilis, though not actually named, is evidently alluded to. Athenæus,<sup>c</sup> speaking of Cypselus, has

<sup>a</sup> ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ, πόλις Ἀρκαδίας Πausανίας ὁγδόω. Τὸ ἐθνικὸν, Βασιλίτης. *Basilis, urbs Arcadiæ. Pausanias, lib. 8. Gentile, Basilites. Steph. Byzant.*

<sup>b</sup> Τοῦ δὲ χωρίου τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου Βάθους σταδίου ὡς δέκα ἀφέστηκε καλουμένη Βασιλίς. ταύτης ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς Κύψελος, ὁ Κρεσφόντη τῷ Ἀριστομάχου τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκδούς. ἐπ' ἐμῶν δὲ ἐρείπια ἡ Βασιλίς ἦν, καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλείπετο Ἐλευσινίας. *Ab eo loco qui Bathos dicitur, stadia ferme decem distat Basilis. Eam urbem condidit Cypselus ille, qui Cresphonti Aristomachi filio filiam nuptum dedit. Ætate nostra Basilidis ruinæ solæ extant; et inter eas Eleusiniæ Ceresis templum. Pausan. Arcad. lib. viii. c. 29.*

<sup>c</sup> Οἶδα δὲ καὶ περὶ κάλλους γυναικῶν ἀγῶνά ποτε διατεθέντα· περὶ οὗ ἱστορῶν Νικίας ἐν τοῖς Ἀρκαδικῇς, διαθεῖναι φησιν αὐτὸν Κύψελον, πόλιν κτίσαντα ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περὶ τὸν Ἀλφειὸν· εἰς ἣν κατοικήσαντα Παρρhasίων τινὰς, τέμενος καὶ βωμὸν ἀναστήσαι Δήμητρι Ἐλευσινίᾳ, ἥς ἐν τῇ ἐορτῇ καὶ τὸν τοῦ κάλλους ἀγῶνα ἐπιτελέσαι· καὶ νικῆσαι πρῶτον αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα Ἡροδίκην. *Novimus vero etiam, publice propositum fuisse Certamen mulierum de pulcritudine: de quo narrans Nicias in Arcadicis, instituisse illud ait Cypselum, condito oppido in planitie circa Alpheum: in quod cum colonos legisset Parrhasiorum nonnullos, fanum et altare Cereri Eleusiniæ statuisset, et festo Deæ die certamen pulcritudinis instituisse; in quo primam victoriam retulit uxor ejusdem Herodica. Athen. Deip. lib. xiii. c. 90. Vol. v. p. 207. edit. Schweighæuseri.*

recorded of him, that he built a city near the river Alpheus, and that when the people of Parrhasia first inhabited the city, they erected a temple and an altar to Eleusinian Ceres. This passage agrees so accurately in its substance with the information which Pausanias has given us respecting Basilis, that scarcely any doubt can be entertained, that both these writers allude to one and the same city.

The practice of abridging the name of the town or people, on their coins, was common among the Arcadians. We find, for instance, ΑΡΚΑ.<sup>a</sup> for ΑΡΚΑΔΩΝ; and upon the coins of Megalopolis and Tegea, cities in Arcadia, we find ΜΕΓ.<sup>b</sup> as an abridgment of ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ; and ΤΕΓΕΑ.<sup>c</sup> as an abbreviation of ΤΕΓΕΑΤΩΝ.

With respect to the weight of the Coin ( $236\frac{3}{8}$  grains), it is very difficult to assimilate it with any of the coins of the Arcadians, who appear to have followed, in general, the Ægina standard.

It is very well known that the drachma of Ægina was much heavier than that of Attica, in the proportion of 10 to 6, the former being worth ten Attic Oboli, whereas the latter was worth only six.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Mus. Hunt. Tab. vii. fig. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Pellerin, Recueil de Médailles de Peuples et de Villes, pl. xxi. fig. 11.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. pl. xxi. fig. 16.

<sup>d</sup> Ἀλλὰ μὴν τὴν μὲν Αἰγιναίαν δραχμὴν, μείζω τῆς Ἀττικῆς, δέκα γὰρ ὀβολοὺς Ἀττικοὺς ἴσχυεν, ἣν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι παχεῖαν δραχμὴν ἐκάλουν, μίσει τῶν Αἰγινητῶν Αἰγιναίαν καλεῖν μὴ θέλοντες. *Veruntamen Ægineam drachmam, Attica majorem; decem enim habebat obolos Atticos, Athenienses Drachmam magnam vocarunt, Æginensium odio, Ægineam appellare nolentes.* Jul. Poll. lib. ix. c. vi. seg. 76.

It is on this difference in the value of the two kinds of money, that the wit of a passage in the poet Diphilus depends, who speaks of a crafty fisherman that required to be paid for his fish in the coin of Ægina, whilst he was disposed to make his own payments in the coin of Athens; thus converting the two kinds of money to his advantage, as occasion served.

Οὗτος ἀποκρίνεται, ἂν ἐρωτήσης, πόσου  
 Ὁ λάβραξ; δέκ' ὀβολῶν. οὐχὶ προσθεῖς ὀποδαπῶν.  
 Ἐπειτα δ', ἂν τ' ἀργύριον αὐτῷ καταβάλῃς,  
 Ἐπράξατ' Αἰγινᾶιον. ἂν δ' αὐτὸν δέῃ  
 Κέρματ' ἀποδοῦναι, προσαπέδωκεν Ἀττικός.  
 Κατ' ἀμφοτέρα δὲ τὴν καταλλαγὴν ἔχει.



The Attic drachm weighed  $66\frac{1}{2}$  English grains, and the Ægean drachm weighed about 95 grains, the didrachms of Ægina weighing in general from 186 to 191 grains.

If therefore the coin of Basilis is to be computed by the standard of Ægina, it will appear to have been coined at the value of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  drachms of that money. But though the Attic and the Ægean standards of weight in coins were principally followed in Greece, it is evident that many cities had a standard peculiar to themselves, and I am of opinion that this was the case with Basilis.

The head on the obverse I consider to be that of Dardanus, the founder of the Trojan dynasty,<sup>a</sup> to whom the costume is perfectly appropriate, as the head has a regal diadem, and is covered with the bonnet which was peculiar to the country where he established his seat of empire. I shall now show in what manner the history of Dardanus is connected with that of the Arcadians. There is no little diversity of opinion respecting the birth-place of this monarch; but Dionysius Halicarnassensis distinctly states, that he was born in Arcadia,<sup>b</sup> and that after having reigned there some time, he was

*Tum si quis quærat, Hic lupus quanti? Decem,  
Respondet, obolis; non addens cujatribus.  
Si deinde argentum numeres, Ægineticum  
Persolvi sibi vult: Contra, si ipsum oporteat  
Tibi reddere æsculi aliquid, reddat Atticum.  
Utraque a parte sic compendium facit.*

Athenæi Deip. lib. vi. vol. ii. p. 365. edit. Schweighæuseri.

<sup>a</sup> Dardanus Iliacæ primus pater urbis, et auctor.

Virg. Æn. lib. iv. 134.

<sup>b</sup> Οτι δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν Τρώων ἔθνος Ἑλληνικὸν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἦν, ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ποτὲ ὠρμη-  
μένον, εἰρηται μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ πάλαι, λεχθήσεται δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐμοῦ δι' ὀλίγων. Ἐχει δὲ ὁ  
λόγος περὶ αὐτῶν ὥδε· Ἀτλας γίνεταί βασιλεὺς πρῶτος ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ νῦν Ἀρκαδίᾳ· ὧκε δὲ περὶ  
τὸ λεγόμενον Καυκάσιον ὄρος. Τούτῳ θυγατέρες ἦσαν ἑπτὰ, αἱ νῦν ἐν οὐρανῷ κατηστερίσθαι λεγό-  
μεναι, Πλειάδες ἐπὶ κλησιν· ὧν μίαν μὲν Ἠλέκτραν Ζεὺς γαμῇ, καὶ γεννᾷ παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς, Ἰασον  
καὶ Δάρδανον. Ἰασος μὲν οὖν ἡγήσας μένει· Δάρδανος δὲ ἄγεται γυναῖκα Χρῦσιν Πάλλαντος θυγα-  
τέρα, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ γίνονται παῖδες, Ἰδᾶιος καὶ Δεῖμας, οἱ τέως μὲν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ παραλαβόντες τὴν  
Ἀτλαντος δυναστείαν, ἐβασίλευον. *Quod autem Trojanorum gens cum primis Græca esset, ex*

driven away by a deluge, which happened in that part of the Peloponnesus, and established himself in Samothrace; from whence he afterwards, with a considerable number of followers, passed over into Asia, and founded a City at the foot of Mount Ida, which city he called, after his own name, Dardanus.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis is not the only writer who states that Arcadia was the birth-place of Dardanus. Servius,<sup>a</sup> in his Commentary on Virgil, relates the same fact, with this addition, that he was born at Pheneus, a town which as well as Basilis, was situated near the river Alpheus. It is worth while to remark that the information conveyed by Servius on this point, is given, not on his own authority, but on that of Varro, and several Greek writers, whom however he does not particularize.

It is not therefore to be wondered at, that the inhabitants of Basilis, or indeed of any other city in Arcadia, should have done honour to the memory of Dardanus, by stamping his image on their coins, that being an obvious method of establishing the reputation which the Arcadians might claim, of having founded, by means of Dardanus, one of the most celebrated dynasties of ancient times. The Arcadians are known to have prided themselves upon the high antiquity of their origin,<sup>b</sup> and they were on this account the more likely

*Peloponneso quondam profecta, jampridem et ab aliis quibusdam est dictum, tamen et a me quoque paucis dicetur. Hæc autem sunt quæ de ipsis traduntur. In ea quæ nunc Arcadia vocatur primus regnavit Atlas: habitabat autem circa montem qui Caucasus appellatur. Huic septem filiæ fuerunt, quæ nunc inter sidera cælestia relatæ dicuntur, cognomine Pleiades: harum unam, Electram, Jupiter uxorem duxit, et ex ipsa Jasum et Dardanum filios suscepit. At Jasus cælebs mansit: Dardanus vero Chrysen Palantis filiam uxorem duxit, ex qua filios Idæum et Diman-tem habuit; qui, quum Atlantis regnum jure hæreditario accepissent, in Arcadia aliquamdiu regnarunt. Dionysii Halic. lib. i. c. lxi.*

<sup>a</sup> Græci et Varro humanarum rerum Dardanum non ex Italiâ, sed de Arcadiâ urbe Pheneo oriundum dicunt; alii Cretensem, alii circa Trojam et Idam natum. Servii Comment. in Virg. Æn. lib. iii. v. 167.

<sup>b</sup> Ἀρκάδες, οἱ καὶ πρόσθε σεληναίης ὑδέονται  
Ζῶειν φηγὸν ἔδοντες ἐν ὄρεσιν.

*Arcades, qui etiam ante lunam feruntur*

*Vixisse glande comedâ in montibus.* Apollonii Argon. lib. iv. v. 264.



to commemorate a circumstance in their history, which at once established the antiquity of their race, and the renown of their ancestors.

If the Coin, of which I have given a description, was struck at Basilis in Arcadia, of which I presume there can be but little doubt, it follows not only that the head on the obverse is that of Dardanus, but that similar heads which we see on gems, and which have been mistaken for those of Priam, do in fact represent Dardanus. The fine head on Sardonyx in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire,<sup>a</sup> which has the name of the artist engraved upon it (ΑΕΤΙΩΝΟΣ), and a similar head in paste in Baron Stosch's collection,<sup>b</sup> both of which have been hitherto assigned to Priam, must certainly be considered as representations of Dardanus. It may be reasonably doubted whether the ancients have furnished us with any head or single figure of Priam. In those instances where we know him to be introduced, he is invariably accompanied by other figures, and is not himself the principal character; for example, where he is represented bringing gifts to Achilles, and kneeling as a suppliant at his feet.<sup>c</sup>

The Cameo in the collection of the Duke of Tuscany,<sup>d</sup> which represents a figure of Priam, is only a fragment of a much larger stone, which when entire, exhibited a number of other figures. In truth, no probable motive can be adduced, which could lead the Greeks to commemorate Priam, whose only celebrity was that which arose from his misfortunes.

Orta prior lunâ (de se si creditur ipsi)

A magno tellus Arcade nomen habet.

Ovidii Fast. lib. i. v. 469.

Ante Jovem genitum terras habuisse feruntur

Arcades, et lunâ gens prior ille fuit.

Ovidii Fast. lib. ii. v. 289.

Arcades hinc veteres astris lunaque priores.

Statii Theb. lib. iv. v. 175.

<sup>a</sup> See the engraved gems belonging to the Duke of Devonshire, Pl. I.

<sup>b</sup> Pierres antiques Gravées, expliquées par M. Philippe de Stosch, Pl. III.

<sup>c</sup> Winckelmann, Monumenti Antichi Inediti, tav. 134, 135.

<sup>d</sup> Musei Florentini Gemm. Ant. Vol. i. tab. xxx. fig. 1.

With respect to Dardanus, on the contrary, very strong reasons existed why his memory should be honoured in Greece, not only because he was born there, as we have already stated, but also because he was the founder of a city. The memories of those who had founded cities were held so sacred in the different States of Greece, that public festivals were instituted, and even divine honours paid to them.<sup>a</sup>

Amongst other means adopted by the Greeks of showing their veneration to the founders of cities, a very usual one was that of impressing their images on Coins. A great many examples of this kind might be brought forward; but it will be sufficient for the present purpose to enumerate only a few of them. The cities of Nicaea,<sup>b</sup> Priene,<sup>c</sup> Byzantium,<sup>d</sup> Tomi,<sup>e</sup> Cyzicus,<sup>f</sup> Elaea,<sup>g</sup> and Clazomene,<sup>h</sup> stamped coins with the heads of their respective founders, namely, of Bacchus, Hercules, Byzas, Tomus, Cyzicus, Menestheus, and Augustus. In all the above instances, each city has commemorated its own founder, which is not the case with Basilis. This city, on the contrary, ap-

<sup>a</sup> Καὶ τὸν Αὐτόλυκον, Σθένιδος ἔργον, ὃν ἐκεῖνοι ΟΙΚΙΣΤΗΝ ἐνέμιζον, καὶ ἐτίμων ΩΣ ΘΕΟΝ. *Et Sthenidis opus, Autolycei statuam, quem illi urbis conditorem existimantes divinis colebant honoribus.* Strab. Geog. lib. x. p. 822. edit. Almeloveen.

Καὶ οἱ τελευτήσαντι Χερσονησῖται θύουσι, ὡς νόμος ΟΙΚΙΣΤΗ, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἵππικόν τε καὶ γυμνικὸν ἐπιστᾶσι. *Et ei vitâ functo sacra faciunt Chersonitæ, uti mos est conditori facere; et equestre gymnicumque in illius honorem certamen celebrant.* Herodoti Hist. lib. vi. c. 38.

Alabandenses quidem sanctius Alabandum colunt, a quo est urbs illa condita, quam quemquam nobilium deorum. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. iii. c. 19.

Itaque Jasoni totus ferme Oriens, ut conditori, divinos honores templaque constituit. Justinî Hist. lib. xlii. c. 3.

Hinc pro conditore seu Deo habitus. Aurel. Vict. de Cæsaribus, c. xli.

<sup>b</sup> ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΝ. ΚΤΙΣΤΗΝ. ΝΙΚΑΙΕΙΣ. Vaillant, Numismata Imperatorum Græca, p. 44.

<sup>c</sup> ΤΟΝ. ΚΤΙΣΤΗΝ. Harduini Nummi Antiqui Illustrati, p. 409.

<sup>d</sup> Mus. Hunt. Tab. xiii. fig. 21.

<sup>e</sup> ΤΟΜΟC. ΚΤΙCΤΗC. Ibid. tab. lx. fig. 17.

<sup>f</sup> Pellerin, Recueil de Médailles, pl. xlviii. fig. 14.

<sup>g</sup> ΜΕΝΕCΘΕΥ. ΚΤΙCΤΗ. Eckhel, Num. Vet. Anec. tab. xii. fig. 5.

<sup>h</sup> ΣΕΒΑCΤΟC. ΚΤΙCΤΗC. ΚΛΑΖΟΜΕΝΙΩΝ. Morellii Specimen Universæ Rei Nummarie Antiquæ, tab. xx.



pears to have honoured the memory of an Arcadian who had founded a city at a considerable distance from his native country: it should however be remembered, that it was the circumstance of his having founded that city, and having thereby established a powerful empire in Asia, that caused the name of Dardanus to be held in veneration by the Greeks, and more particularly by the Arcadians.

It now only remains for me to say a few words on the subject of the Lyre which is represented on the reverse of the Coin. That it is used as a symbol of Apollo, can scarcely, I think, be doubted, though from the scanty information which we have of the town of Basilis, it does not appear that any temple in it was dedicated to that Deity; but, from the musical character of the Arcadians, (which Virgil<sup>a</sup> and other writers have celebrated,) it is highly probable that the worship of Apollo was prevalent throughout Arcadia. Polybius the historian, himself an Arcadian, being born at Megalopolis, has entered very fully into the subject of the partiality which the Arcadians manifested for the study of Musick. He remarks, that the cultivation of this science was absolutely necessary to this people,<sup>b</sup> and that it was one of their laws, that children should not only be taught musick from their infancy, but should continue the study of it till they attained the age of thirty years.<sup>c</sup> Athenæus<sup>d</sup> furnishes us with similar information respecting the Arcadians; but the whole passage in which he treats of this subject, is professedly derived, and almost literally copied from Polybius.

<sup>a</sup> ——— soli cantare periti

Arcades.

Virg. Ecl. x. 32.

<sup>b</sup> Μουσικὴν γὰρ, τὴν γε ἀληθῶς μουσικὴν, πᾶσι μὲν ἀνθρώποις ὀφελὸς ἀσκεῖν, Ἀρκάσι δὲ καὶ ἀναγκᾶιον. *Stadium enim Musicæ (veram intelligo Musicam) amplecti, quum omnibus mortalibus sit utile, tum Arcadibus etiam est necessarium.* Polyb. Hist. lib. iv. c. 20.

<sup>c</sup> Τοὺς πρώτους Ἀρκάδων εἰς τὴν ὅλην πολιτείαν τὴν μουσικὴν παραλαβεῖν ἐπὶ τούτου, ὥστε μὴ μόνον παισὶν δοῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νεανίσκοις γενομένοις ἕως τριάκοντ' ἐτῶν, κατ' ἀνάγκην σύντροφον ποιεῖν αὐτὴν, τᾷ τε βίῳ ὄντας ἀσπληροτάτους. *Aut priscos Arcades sine ratione, in republica sua formanda, Musicæ tantum tribuisse, ut, quum cæteris vitæ institutis uterentur severissimis, in Musica tamen erudiri non solum pueros juberent, verum etiam adolescentes ac juvenes ad annum usque trigesimum.* Polyb. Hist. lib. iv. c. 20.

<sup>d</sup> Athenæi Deipn. lib. xiv. c. 22. edit. Schweighæuseri.

XLIII. *Original Letters of King James I. to Sir George More, Lieutenant of the Tower, respecting the Trial of the Earl of Somerset. Communicated by WILLIAM BRAY, Esq. Treasurer, in a Letter to SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. F. R. S. V. P.*

Read 20th Feb. 1817.

DEAR SIR,

Great Russell Street, 5th Feb. 1817.

THE conduct of King James the First, respecting the trials of the Earl and Countess of Somerset, for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower, and his great fear, that if Somerset was brought to a public trial, some things might be told which he most anxiously wished to prevent, has been represented by *Weldon* in so strong a light, that the candid *Rapin* seems almost to doubt the truth of the representation. But I am enabled to lay before the Society copies which I have made from some original letters of the King to Sir George More, then Lieutenant of the Tower, which strongly corroborate what *Weldon* has said. They were written during the King's anxiety and suspense, whether Somerset could be prevailed on to confess his guilt, which would have prevented the public appearance of the witnesses, and any thing which Somerset might reveal.

These Letters are preserved at Loseley in Surrey, the seat of James More Molyneux, Esq., who is representative of Sir George More's family; and by Mr. Molyneux's permission I now offer them to the Society.

It is perhaps necessary to state shortly what *Weldon* has said.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient,

and very humble Servant,

W. BRAY.



*Weldon* says, that *Somerset* having told the Lieutenant of the Tower that he would not go to trial except by force, and that the language was in such high strain, and not well understood by Moore, that it made him quiver and shake, and though accounted a wise man, he was near at his wits end; that late as it was, at twelve at night, he went to the King at Greenwich, insisted on his being awakened, and that he should see him. The King fell into a passion of tears: "On my soul, Moore, I know not what to do, thou art a wise man, help me in this great straight, and thou shalt find thou dost it for a thankful master." Moore promised his utmost, and was really rewarded with a suit worth to him £1500, (though *Annandale*, his great friend, cheated him of half).

Moore returned and went to *Somerset* at three in the morning of the day he went to be tried, told him he had been with the King, found him a most affectionate master unto him, and full of grace in his intentions towards him; but, to satisfy justice, he must appear, although return instantly without further proceeding; by this means he got him quietly to the hall about eight in the morning, and he held them till seven at night. But who had seen the King's restless motion all that day, sending to every boat he saw landing, cursing all that came without tidings, would have easily judged all was not right, and that there had been some grounds for his fear of *Somerset's* boldness; but at last, on word of the condemnation, and what had passed, all was quiet. This, says *Weldon*, is the very relation from Moore's own mouth, in *Wanstead Park*, told to two gentlemen, of whom the author (*Weldon*) was one. They never spoke of it till the King's death.

*Weldon* thinks *Somerset* only guilty of the imprisonment which led to the murder.

The fear of something being discovered relating to the death of Prince Henry is generally supposed to be what so affected the King. *Harris* attributes it to an unnatural passion of the King.

Carte's observation on this matter is, that it was perhaps for this reason, circumstances only appearing for the intercession of the Lords in behalf of the Countess, and out of his own compassionate nature, that James, after keeping them about seven years in the Tower, set them at liberty, confining them, however, to their country seat; and at last, about four months before his death, granted them a pardon. Nothing could shew a more inflexible regard to justice than all the King's proceedings in this affair.<sup>a</sup>

The Countess was tried on the 24th, the Earl on the 25th May, 1616, and they were both found guilty. The King then granted them a reprieve, which was often renewed till 1621, when they had liberty to go and live at a country seat. After the Earl was condemned, the King gave him £4000 a year in land, which he took grants of in the names of his servants.

These Letters of the King are in a paper thus indorsed: "Sir Geo. More's my father in Lawe's Legacie, whoe in his lifetime made mutch accoump of these Lettors beinge every woorde of Kinge James his owne wryghtinge—James the first—" and in which is written as follows:

"These 4 Lettors weare all of Kinge James his owne hand wryghtinge, sent to Sir George More Liftennant of y<sup>e</sup> Tower (beinge putt into that place by his owne apoyntment without y<sup>e</sup> privitie of any Mann) concerninge my Lorde of Sommersett, whoe beinge in the Tower, and heringe that he shoulde come to his arrayngnement, begann to speak bigg woordes trenchinge on y<sup>e</sup> Kinges reputation and honnour. The Kinge therefore desir'd as mutch as he cowlde to make him confes the poysoninge of S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Overberry, and so not to come to his Arrayngnement but to cast him selve on his mercye, (but beinge a Courtiour and beaton to those courses, woulde not,) fully imageñinge that the Kinge durst not, or woulde not bringe him to his Tryall. The Gentleman y<sup>e</sup> Kinge sent in one of y<sup>e</sup> Lettors to my lord wase Waltor James soomtime my Loordes Secretarye. But

<sup>a</sup> Carte, b. 16. a<sup>o</sup> 1616.



y<sup>e</sup> Kinge although he weare y<sup>e</sup> wissest to woorke his owne endes that evor wase before him, it [yet] all that cowlde not woorke on Somersett but that he evor stooode on his innocency, and woulde never be brought to confes that he had any hand with his wyfe in y<sup>e</sup> poysoninge of Overberye, knewe not of it, nor consented unto itt, and I have often tawlked with Mr. James his chyfe servant aboute it, whoe evor wase of opinion y<sup>t</sup> my Lord wase cleere and his Ladye only Gwyltie, for one time Mrs. Tournor told him, that littell did my Lord knowe what she had adventured for his Ladye: but y<sup>e</sup> trweth is King James was wearye of him: Buckingham had supplied his place.

## LETTER I.

“GOODE Sir George I ame extreamelic sorie that youre unfortunate prisoner turnis all the grette caire I have of him not onlie against him selfe, but against me also, as farre as he can. I can not blame you, that ye can not coniecture quhat this maye be, for God knoweis it is only a trikke of his ydle braine, hoaping thairby to shifte his tryall, but it is easie to be seene, that he wolde threattin me, with laying an aspersion upon me of being in some sorte accessorie to his cryme. I can doe no more (since god so obstractes his grace from him,) then repeate the substance of that letre quhiche the lorde Haye sent you yesternight, quhiche is this, if he wolde writte or sende me any message concerning this poysoning it needis not be private, if it be of any other bussienesse, that quiche I can not now with honor ressave privatlie, I maye doe it after his tryall & serve the turne as well, for excepte ather his tryall, or confession præcede, I can not heare a private message from him without laying an aspersion upon my selfe of being an accessorie to his cryme, & I praye you to urge him by reason, that I refuse him no favoure quiche I can graunte him without taking upon me the suspition of being guiltie of that cryme quhairof he is accusid & so fair well.

JAMES R.”

## LETTER II.

“GOODE Sir George as the onlie confidence I hadde in youre honestie made me, without the knowledge of any, putte you in that place of truste quhiche ye now possesse, so muste I nou use youre truste & secreate in a thing greatlie concerning my honowre & service, ye knowe Somersettis daye of tryall is at hande & ye knowe also quhat faire meanis I have usid to move him by confessing the trewthe to honoure god & me & leave some place for my mercie to worke upon, I have nou at last sent the bearare heerof, an honeste gentleman, & quho once followid him, with suche directions unto him, as if thaire be á sponke of grace lefte in him, I hoape thaye shall worke á goode effecte, my onlie desyre is, that ye wolde make his convoie unto him in suche secreate as none living maye knowe of it & that after his speaking with him in private he maye be returned bakke againe as secreatlie, so reposing my selfe upon your faithfull & secreate handling of this busiennesse I bidde you hairtelie fair well.

JAMES R.”

Indorsed by Sir George More,

“9<sup>th</sup> of May about one of the clock in the afternoon 1616.”

## LETTER III.

“GOODE Sir George although I feare, that the laste message I sent to your infortunate prisoner shall not take the effect I wishe it shoulde, yett I can not leave of to use all meanes possible to moue him to doe that, quhiche is both most honorable for me & his owin best. Ye shall thairfore give him assurance in my name, that if he will yett before his tryall confesse cleerelie unto the comissionars his guiltienesse of this fact, I will not onlie performe quhat I promised by my last messenger, both towardis him & his wyfe, but I will enlarge it, acording to the phrase of the Civill lawe, quod gratiæ sunt amplianda, I meane not that he shall confesse if he be innocent, but ye knowe how evill lykeliie that is & of youre selfe ye maye dispute with him,



quhat shoulde meane his confidence nou to endure a tryall, quhen as he rembers that this last winter he confessid to the cheefe iustice that his cause was so evill lykeli, as he knew no iurie coulde quyte him, assure him that I proteste upon my honour, my ende in this is, for his & his wyfe's goode, ye will doe well lykeweyes, of youre selfe to cast out unto him, that ye feare his wyfe shall pleade weakeli for his innocencie & that ye fynde the comissioners have, ye know not how, some secreate assurance, that in the ende she will confesse of him, but this muste onlie be as from yourselfe, & thairfore ye muste not lette him knowe that I have written unto you, but onlie that I sent you private worde to deliver him this message, lett none living knowe of this & if it take goode effecte, moue him to sende in haiste for the comissioners to give thaim satisfaction, but if he remaine obstinate, I desyre not that ye shoulde trouble me with an ansoure, for it is to no ende, and no newis is better then evill newis, & so fair well & god blesse youre labours.

JAMES R."

Indorsed by Sir George More,

"13<sup>th</sup> of May 1616."

#### LETTER IV.

"GOODE Sir George for ansoure to youre straunge newis I am first to tell you, that I expecte the lorde Haye & Sir Robert Carr have bene with you before this tyme, quhiche if thaye have not yett bene, doe ye sende for thaim in haiste that thaye maye first heare him, before ye saye any thing unto him, & quhen that is done, if he shall still refuse to goe, ye muste doe youre office, excepte he be ather apparantlie seike or distractid of his wittes, in any of quhiche casys ye maye acquainte the chancillaire with it, that he maye adiorne the daye till mondaye nexte, betwene & quhiche tyme, if his sikennesse or madnesse be counterfitted it will manifestlie appeare, in the meane tyme I doubte not but ye have acquainted the chancellair with this

strainge fitte of his & if upon these occasions ye bring him á litle  
 laiter then the houre appointed, the chancellaire maye in the meane  
 tyme protracte the tyme the best he maye, quhom I praye you to ac-  
 quainte lykewayes with this my ansoure as well as with the accident,  
 if he have saide any thing of moment to the lorde Hays I expecte to  
 heare of it with all speede, if otherwayes, lette me not be trublit with  
 it till the tryall be past. fair well

JAMES R."

*Copy of the Warrant for the Commitment of the Countess of Somerset.*

"AFTER o<sup>r</sup> verrey hartie commendacōns forasmuch as it is his Ma<sup>tie</sup>  
 pleasure that the Countesse of Somersett be removed from the Black  
 friers where she is restrained, to the Towre of London; This shallbe  
 to will and require you to repaire to the place of her restraints and  
 there to receive from the hands of S<sup>r</sup> William Smyth k<sup>t</sup>. the person  
 of the said Countess of Somersett, and to carie her to the Towre  
 there to remayne close prisoner under your charge, admittinge such  
 persons to attend her as are now w<sup>th</sup> her at the Black friers, to be shutt  
 up close w<sup>th</sup> her as is usuall in such cases, togeather w<sup>th</sup> such honorable  
 usage as is convenient and fittinge a prisoner of her quality, for w<sup>ch</sup>  
 this shalbe your warrant fro - - - [*torn*] - - Court at Whitehall the  
 27 of March 16-6

Your very lovinge friends

T Ellesmere. Canc. Lenox. E. Zouche. Edw Cke [Coke]."

"Lieutenant of the Toure."

Indorsed, "- - o<sup>r</sup> verrey lovinge f - - - -

S<sup>r</sup> George More

Lieutennaunte of the Tower."



XLIV. *Observations on the Bayeux Tapestry*, by HUDSON GURNEY, Esq. M. P. F. S. A. in a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.

Read July 4th, 1816.

Gloucester Place, July 4th, 1816.

MY DEAR SIR,

I AM sorry to say in answer to your note, that I am unable to send you the Remarks, with which I had proposed to trouble the Society concerning the Bayeux Tapestry, in as perfect a form as I could have wished; but as I understand from our noble President, that we are to expect a fac simile of this document, so very curious as giving in picture a continuous, and nearly contemporary History of the Events represented, from that excellent and most accurate artist, Mr. Stothard, jun<sup>r</sup>. I shall venture in the mean time, to commit them to you, just as they are.

I was at Bayeux for a few hours in the year 1814; but not knowing that the Tapestry went there by the appellation of The "*Toile de St. Jean*," I was very near coming away without being able to discover where it was. At last I learnt it was at the Hotel of the Prefecture. It was coiled round a machine, like that which lets down the buckets to a Well; and I had the opportunity of drawing it out at leisure, over a table.

It is a very long piece of brownish linen cloth, worked with woollen thread of different colours, which are as bright and distinct, and the letters of the superscriptions as legible, as if of yesterday.

Three things convinced me at the time that it was of the antiquity ascribed to it; and the known facts, of the English being in those days celebrated for works of embroidery, and of English workwomen having been employed in these works by Matilda, and the nature and gist of the story represented, all lead me to retain the same opinion still.

First, In the many buildings therein portrayed, there is not the trace of a pointed arch, though there is much pointed work in the ornaments of the running border; but there *is* the square Norman buttress flat to the wall, and the square tower, surmounted by, or

rather ending in a low pinnacle

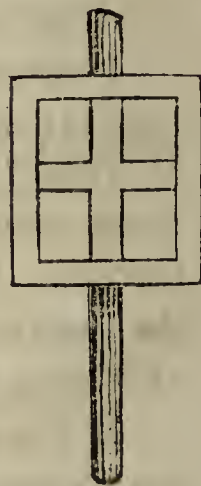
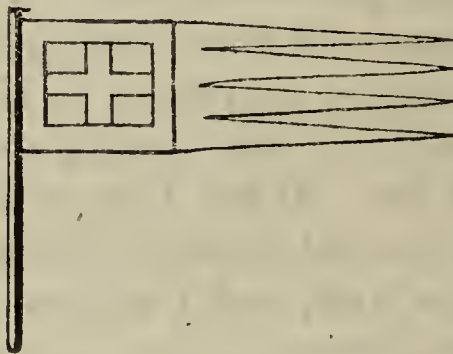
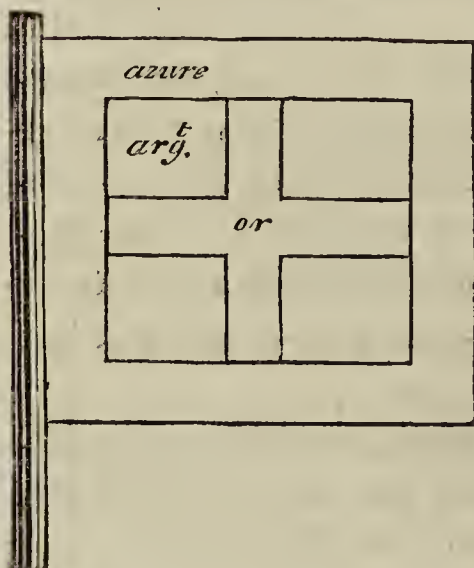


constantly repeated.

Secondly, all the Knights are in ring armour; many of their shields charged with a species of cross and five dots. Some with dragons, but none with any thing in the nature of armorial bearings, which, in a lower age, there would have been. All wear a triangular sort of conical helmet with a nasal, when represented armed.



Thirdly, the Norman banner is, *invariably*, Argent, a Cross Or in a bordure Azure.





This is repeated over and over again. We meet it in the war against Conan, as well as at Pevensey and at Hastings ; and there is neither hint nor trace of the later invention of the Norman Leopards.

It may be remarked, that the whole is worked with a strong outline ; that the clearness and relief are given to it by the variety of the colours ; and that nothing but a copy of this monument in colours, can furnish an adequate representation of it. With all the rudeness of its execution, the likeness of the individual appeared to me to be preserved throughout the piece. Harold and his Saxons never quit their moustaches ; and William himself, both from his figure and erect manner of holding himself, would not fail to be always recognized, were there no superscriptions.

I trust I have said enough to prove how very insufficient the prints we have of it are, to convey any accurate idea of the Bayeux Tapestry ; being in fact, (though the inscriptions, *not* the figures, were verified for M. Launcelot,) merely copies of copies of the one Sketch of Father Montfaucon's draughtsman.

Now, Sir, I had intended to have added some observations on the passages of those times, as indicated on this monument, which, as I have not all the materials at hand, I am obliged to defer ; but I may be allowed to state, that all the evidence of that nature, I have been able to discover, goes to confirm me in the belief that it really is of the æra assigned to it.

Our very learned and distinguished correspondent The Abbé De La Rue, conjectures it to have been worked in the time of the second Matilda, called by our historians the Empress Maud.

But the fact is, all have hitherto treated the Bayeux Tapestry as a " Monument of the Conquest of England," following therein M. Lancelot, and speaking of it as an unfinished work : whereas it is an apologetical History of the Claims of William to the Crown of England, and of the breach of faith, and fall of Harold ; and is a perfect and finished action.

After the reign of William, the dispute of right lay among the Normans; between William Rufus and Robert; Henry and William Clito; Stephen and Maud. But Wace, who was nearly contemporary, expressly says, that at the time of the Conquest there were two stories (others indeed give us a third, that Harold's voyage was merely by accident of tempest). The ONE, that Harold, against Edward's advice, went to endeavour the release of his relations, hostages with William. The OTHER, that Harold was sent by Edward to assure to William the succession to the Crown of England on his demise.

Which was true, WACE says, He knows not; but both may be found written.

The last was the Court story, and is the story of the Tapestry of Bayeux.

I annex the running superscriptions, with a very concise indication of the subjects of the seventy-two compartments into which this remarkable monument naturally divides itself; and which, if you should have the patience to read, or the Society to hear, will, I think, prove my hypothesis.

I am, my dear Sir,

Very faithfully Yours,

HUDSON GURNEY.

To Henry Ellis, Esq.  
&c. &c. &c.

INSCRIPTION.	SUBJECT.
1. Rex Edwardus.	Edward on his throne giving Harold, attended by one other person, his audience of instruction.
2. Ibi Haroldus Dux Anglorum, et sui milites equitant ad Bosham.	Harold on his journey.



INSCRIPTION.	SUBJECT.
3. Ecclesia.	The little monastery of Bosham; Harold and another at prayers; his train drinking in the upper story of a building hard by.
4. Hic Harold mare navigavit.	Harold embarking.
5. Et velis vento plenis venit in ter- ram Widonis comitis.	Harold on his voyage.
6. Harold.	Harold disembarking.
7. Hic apprehendit Wido Haroldum.	Harold seized by Wido.
8. Et duxit ad Belrem et ibi eum tenuit.	Harold led away prisoner.
9. Ubi Harold et Wido parabolant.	Wido, on an elevated seat (with- out canopy) hearing Harold, and replying.
10. Ubi nuntii Willielmi Ducis vene- runt ad Widonem.	Wido's audience of William's mes- sengers.
11. Tuold.	A <i>bearded</i> Dwarf, holding the mes- sengers' horses.
12. Nuntii Willelmi.	William's messengers returning.

INSCRIPTION.	SUBJECT.
13. Hic venit Nuntius ad Wilgel- mum Ducem.	A Saxon (i. e. a <i>moustached</i> ) mes- senger, kneeling to William on his ducal seat.
14. Hic Wido adduxit Haroldum ad Wilgelmum Normannorum Du- cem.	Wido leading Harold honorably attended, to William on horse- back.
15. Hic Dux Wilgelm. cum Haroldo venit.	William's return, accompanied by Harold.
16. Ad Palatium suum.	The interior of William's palace.
17. Ubi unus Clericus et Ælfgiva.	A Woman (certainly Adeliza, Wil- liam's daughter, promised to Harold, a devotee, whose knees are said to have become horny from incessant prayer, and who died afterwards affianced, against her will, to Alphonso of Spain,) with a Priest.
18. Hic Willelm. Dux et exercitus ejus venerunt ad montem Mi- chaelis.	The march of William and his army to Mount St. Michael. The church of St. Michel de Tombelaine in the distance.
19. Et hic transierunt flumen Cos- nonis.	The passage of the Coesnon, the boundary river of Britany.



INSCRIPTION.	SUBJECT.
20. Hic Harold. Dux trahebat eos de arena.	Harold disengaging men from the river.
21. Et venerunt ad Dol, et Conan fuga vertit.	The relief of Dol, which Conan was beseiging.
22. Rednes.	The gate of Rennes.
23. Hic milites Willelmi Ducis pug- nant contra Dinantes, et Cunan claves porrexit.	The attack of Dinant, and Conan holding forth the keys to Wil- liam on the point of a lance.
24. Hic dedit arma Willelm. Haroldo.	William arming Harold as his knight.
25. Hic Willelm. venit Bagias.	The return of William to Bayeux.
26. Ubi Harold Sacramentum fecit Willelmo Duci.	The famous swearing on the relics.
27. Hic Harold Dux reversus est.	Harold's return and voyage.
28. Ad Anglicam terram.	Harold, with one follower, on horseback, after landing.

INSCRIPTION.	SUBJECT.
29. Et venit ad Edwardum regem.	Edward on his throne, receiving Harold, followed by one person with a battle-axe.
30. Hic portatur corpus Edwardi Regis ad ecclesiam S. Petri ap̃li.	Westminster Abbey; a hand from Heaven pointing to it; and Edward's funeral.
31. Ædwardus Rex in lecto alloquitur fideles.	Edward on his death bed, speaking to those around him.
32. Et hic defunctus est.	Edward laid out.
33. Hic dederunt Haroldo coronam Regis.	The crown offered to Harold.
34. Hic residet Haroldus Rex Anglorum.	Harold on the throne.
35. Stigant Arch ep̃s.	Stigand the Archbishop on the King's left, the maniple over his left hand: in the gateway, spectators.
36. Isti mirant stellam.	Men looking up, and pointing to the comet which then appeared.
37. Harold.	Harold, leaning from the throne, listening to a man addressing him.



INSCRIPTION.	SUBJECT.
38. Hic navis Anglica venit in terram Willelmi Ducis.	A ship: mariners lowering sail and casting anchor.
39. Hic Willelm. Dux jussit naves edificare.	William, <i>now first</i> sitting under a canopy, giving orders.
40.	Men cutting down trees, and building ships.
41. Hic trahunt naves ad mare.	Men drawing along the vessels with ropes by main force.
42. Isti portant armas ad naves.	Men carrying arms and armour of all sorts.
43. Et hic trahunt carrum cum vino et armis.	Men drawing a machine on four wheels, with wine-casks, hel- mets and spears.
44. Hic Willelm. Dux.	William on horseback, with fol- lowers.
45. In magno navigio mare transi- vit, et venit ad Pevensæ.	The fleet on its voyage.
46. Hic exeunt caballi de navibus.	Getting the horses out of the ships.
47. Et hic milites festinaverunt Hestinga.	Horsemen galloping.
48. Ut cibum raperentur.	The capture of a pig, and of an ox; and killing a sheep.

INSCRIPTION.	SUBJECT.
49. Hic est Wadard.	William's "Dapifer" on horseback (through whom alone, the <i>Gesta Gulielmi</i> informs us, he would receive or make communica- tions in his parleys with the English).
50. Hic coquitur Caro.	Cooking.
51. Et hic ministraverunt ministri.	Serving up.
52. Hic fecerunt prandium.	Chiefs dining.
53. Et hic episcopus cibum et potum benedicit.	Odo by the side of William at a horse-shoe table, standing; a man serving on the knee.
54. Willelm. Odo eꝑs.                      Rotbert.	William, sitting under a canopy, between Odo and Robert Earl of Mortaine.
55. Iste jussit ut foderetur castellum at Hesteng.	William, holding his banner, giv- ing orders to men with en- trenching tools.
56. Ceastra.	The entrenched camp partly formed, partly forming.
57. Hic nuntiatum est Willelm. de Harold.	William sitting, still holding his banner; a man approaching and addressing him.



INSCRIPTION.	SUBJECT.
58. Hic domus incenditur.	Burning a house with firebrands; a woman and boy escaping from below.
59. Hic milites exierunt de Hestenga.	A knight, with a <i>private</i> banner, issuing to mount a led horse.
60. Et venerunt ad prelium contra Haroldum Regem.	The march of the horsemen.
61. Hic Willelm. Dux interrogat Vi- tal.	William interrogating an armed horseman.
62. Si vidisset Haroldi exercitum.	The same horseman, accompanied by another, on his quest.
63. Iste nuntiat Haroldum Regem de exercitu Willelm. ducis.	On the other side some trees; one man on foot is looking out, and another is speaking to Harold, who is on horseback.
64. Hic Willelm. Dux alloquitur suis militibus ut prepararent se vi- riliter et sapienter ad prelium.	William pointing, a club in his other hand. His knights gallop- ing to the battle. Archers in front, the <i>short</i> bow drawn to the side.
65. Contra Anglorum exercitum.	Horsemen charging; Taillefer at their head, having thrown up his sword in the air; foot re- ceiving the charge.

INSCRIPTION.	SUBJECT.
66. Hic ceciderunt Levvine et Gurd fratres Haroldi Regis.	The deaths of Levvine and Gurd.
67. Hic ceciderunt Simul Angli et Franci in prelio.	Mutual destruction; foot seeming to defend a kind of entrench- ment against horsemen.
68. Hic Odo eꝑs baculum tenens con- fortat pueros.	Bishop Odo charging full speed, and striking at a horseman with a club or mace.
69. Hic est Willelm. Dux.	William giving his orders during the battle.
70. Hic Franci pugnant et ceciderunt qui erant cum Haroldo.	The French horsemen charging the English, who seem falling under them.
71. Hic Harold Rex interfectus est.	THE DEATH OF HAROLD, (the standard carried before whom is apparently a dragon).
72. Et fuga verterunt Angli.	The discomfiture and flight of the English.

Here the Tapestry ends, with figures of persons retreating in great haste, not complete in its ornamental work, but I think complete in its history.



XLV. *The Engraved Gems, brought from Babylon to England* by ABRAHAM LOCKETT, Esq. Secretary to the Council of the College of Fort William in Bengal, considered with reference to early Scriptural History. By JOHN LANDSEER, Esq. F.S.A. Engraver to his Majesty, and Member of the London Royal Academy of Arts, in a Letter addressed to the Right Hon. Sir JOSEPH BANKS, Bart. G.C.B. P.R.S. &c. &c.

Read 6th March, 1817.



SIR,

THE following Observations, tending to shew that the Signets of the nations which anciently inhabited the banks of the Euphrates were, at least in some instances, of a cylindrical form, may perhaps not be unworthy of your attention, and that of the Society of Antiquaries.

The observations were suggested chiefly by the contemplation of a considerable number of engraved Gems of this kind which are in my possession, and which have been recently dug up at Babylon, and brought to England by that persevering Oriental traveller and scholar, Capt. Abraham Lockett.

Many of these cylinders are formed of hæmatite, mistakenly termed loadstone by Mr. Raspe, in his *Catalogue Raisonné* of Tassie's Collection: the rest are of cornelian, jasper, agate, chalcedony, and other hard and precious stones. A drawing and an impression from one of them accompanies this paper.

It is well known that engraved cylinders of the same kind have been brought to Europe before these, which were collected during a three-weeks residence among the ruins of ancient Babylon. Of those, some are contained in the British Museum; one is in the Museum of the Borghese Palace; according to the foreign print with which you did me the honour to present me, another is at Nuremberg; and many are in the collection of Mons. Silvestre de Sacy, and in other Museums at Paris. The idea which has generally prevailed respecting them is, that they are Persepolitan Amulets. Raspe calls them Amulets, (p. 64.) and the modern Arabs, by whom they are found and preserved, venerate them as possessing some inherent talismanic virtue, with the precise nature of which they are unacquainted, but which, from hope or from fear, they desire to propitiate.

Considerable numbers of these gems have lately been disinterred by the Arabs, in digging up those bricks of ancient Babylon which constitute the material of which the town of Hillah and the neighbouring villages are chiefly built. It should be remembered, as a general principle, that the lower these Arabian labourers dig into the masses of rubbish and brick, the more likely they are to turn up such remains of antiquity as, like the gems before us, are formed of imperishable substances; and it should be known, that parts of the substructures being now all that remain of the palaces and temples of this great metropolis, they are more likely than at any former



period to recover such productions of the Babylonian arts of *remote* antiquity as remain undestroyed: for the superstructures having gradually been entirely carried away, the Arabs are now digging among the very foundations which were laid by the architects of Nebuchadnezzar, if not by those of Ninus and Semiramis.

It is of small importance to us that the modern veneration for these curious antiques has arisen, partly at least, from the romantic superstition of Persia and Arabia. The antiquaries of Europe, listening to those of the East (such as they are), have imbibed or acquiesced in their belief respecting the original purpose for which these engravings were so laboriously wrought; and have done so, as it should seem, rather because their own attention has not yet been critically directed to the subject, than from any regularly induced conviction that this belief was founded in fact.

I shall therefore, with your leave, Sir Joseph, and that of the Society, proceed to shew why I conceive the gems to have been originally, not worn as talismans or amulets, but used as seals, for the purposes of ratifying such political, commercial, and other social transactions as called for a sacred pledge.

The especial use or purpose for which antiques of this curious description were intended, and to which they were originally applied, I conceive should be sought for, 1st, in those local oriental customs of the early ages which history or tradition has handed down. 2dly, in the peculiarities of their forms. 3dly, in the paucity or abundance of their numbers, combined with the above considerations and that of the places where they are found. And, lastly, in their engraved contents.

To treat of them, first, with reference to the ancient customs of Chaldea or Assyria: Herodotus, in detailing those customs as they existed in his time, (see *Clio*, cxcv.) says, that every Assyrian possessed a signet, or seal; for so the Greek word *σφραγῖδα* should be rendered, and not *seal-ring*, as it has been translated by the Rev. Mr.

Beloe. Neither the form of the seal, nor the manner in which it was mounted, are mentioned by Herodotus.

The manner in which the engraver's art is spoken of in the Pentateuch, shews that, in the time of Moses, it was an art of no recent invention, and that signets were then in common, or at least in well-known, use. The onyxes for the sacred ephod; the plate of gold for the mitre of the high-priest; and the precious stones for his breast-plate; were all expressly ordered to be engraven "*like the engravings of a signet*:" that is to say, in intaglio. And these words, like the engravings of a *signet*, are in the book of Exodus frequently repeated.

It is true, Dr. Clarke, in commenting on an engraved monogram of Ptolomy, which he found during his travels, supposes that the signets of the time of the Hebrew patriarchs were flat, like the seals at present in use; and this he supposes, because the precious stones of the ephod and those of the breast-plate of the high priest, were "set in ouches of gold." He gives no other reason. Yet the book of Exodus plainly says, not that these stones were set in ouches, &c. *as signets are set*, but that they were "*graven as signets are graven*;" or, as it is expressed in another chapter, "*like the engravings of a signet*." The latter expression is mentioned no less than three times in the course of chapter xxviii. and is again repeated twice in chapter xxxix. and in this latter chapter it is also said that "they wrought onyx-stones enclosed in ouches of gold, graven as signets are graven."

The circumstance then, of these costly stones being engraved like signets, is, in holy writ, kept quite distinct from that of their being set in ouches of gold: indeed it is fairly to be inferred, from the above passages, that signets were *not* thus set at the time; for when we reflect on the remarkable attention to detail which characterises this part of the Bible, and its habitual repetitions, it is rather to be presumed that a writer studious of simplicity and exactness, and inspired by truth, would either have repeated, concerning



the precious stones of the ephod and breast-plate, that they were *graven as signets are graven, and set as signets are set*; or, using other words, would have said *they were engraven and set in ouches of gold, like signets*.

The Society will have the goodness to observe, that, while I deny Dr. Clarke's inference as to the oriental signets of this early period being set in ouches of gold, I argue from this scriptural reference (to the book of Exodus) the frequency of signets in the time of Moses; Josephus too, informs us that some ages before this, when Pharaoh invested the youthful Joseph with power over the land and people of Egypt, he entrusted to his discretion the royal *signet* along with the royal authority. Yet we may not suppose that the Hebrews learned either the arts of the engraver and lapidary, or the practice of sealing, during their Egyptian servitude; for we read in Genesis, chap. xxxviii. that Judah, the elder brother of Joseph, possessed a portable signet, which he carried about with him on ordinary occasions, and left as a pledge with his disguised daughter-in-law when on his way to a sheep-shearing at Timnath; an event which must have happened several years before the sons of Jacob were driven into Egypt by famine..

In one of those Lectures on ancient Engraving, which I delivered at the Royal Institution<sup>a</sup> some years ago, I have asserted, on the authority of Cedrenus, the still earlier existence of imitative art, such as is displayed on these cylinders, among the Chaldean progenitors of the Jews; and it is by no means improbable, considering the numerous uses to which the signet may have been applied in a rude age, when writing could have been practised but by few persons; considering too the great numbers of signets that must in consequence have become necessary——The Society will permit me to say, that under such circumstances, and in such a stage of society, it is by no means improbable—that Terah the Chaldean, the father of Abraham,

<sup>a</sup> See Lect. I. edit. 1807.

and the first artist whose name is any where upon record, was an engraver of signets, as well as a sculptor or modeller of such small idols as Rachel, in three generations from Terah, is recorded to have hidden under a saddle.

Not to wander however,—or to wander as little as possible—from well-authenticated facts, let us here reflect on the great number of these gems which have been disinterred at Babylon, the metropolis of Chaldea; and let us regard also their dimensions and the peculiarities of their form.

Their numbers may be in some measure estimated by the circumstances, that thirteen were collected in the course of the three weeks that Captain Lockett remained at Babylon; that others were collected during the same period by Dr. Hine and Mr. Rich; that M. Silv. de Sacy and other French Antiquaries have lately possessed themselves of great numbers; that scores were previously to be found in the Museums and Cabinets of Europe; and, that probably hundreds might be purchased of the Arabs, Jews, Jewellers, and Antiquaries of the East, beside those which may remain to reward the researches of future travellers.

The dimensions of these curious antiques are various, some of them being ten times as large as others. Speaking generally, they are from three-fourths of an inch, to more than two inches in length; and while the smallest of Captain Lockett's is less than an inch, the largest is three inches in circumference. Their form, as already stated, is cylindrical. Some of them are regular cylinders, due allowance being made for the wear and tear they have undergone; but others are not exactly cylinders, having a small degree of concavity or hollowness in their sides, like a dice-box, (for which I shall presently account;) and all of them are perforated longitudinally.

From the very great time and trouble it would require, even with our modern facilities of accomplishment, to shape, and perforate, and engrave on, substances so exceedingly hard as Jasper, Chalcedony, Jade, and the more precious stones of the Indian peninsula, we may



safely infer, that the authors of these ancient relics had some important and especial purpose in view. And when we combine these circumstances with the historical evidence, and other localities which I have brought forward and shall further proceed to adduce, what purpose appears so likely as the ratification of those bonds of intercourse between nations, and of those social compacts and deeds of traffic, which took place, as we learn from the scriptural records, even at periods anterior to those patriarchal ages which have been mentioned? Introduce a metal axis, and mount one of these engraved gems upon the principle of a garden rolling-stone; it becomes at once a seal, easy to use, and copious in its contents.

It is no very forced conclusion then, that the longitudinal piercing so laboriously performed, was for the reception of an axis, and the axis that the cylinder might revolve in rendering its impression.

Dividing these antiques into classes, I conceive that the largest and heaviest have been thus mounted, and kept as stationary signets at the palaces and other great offices of state, of Assyria, Persia, and Egypt, to be used on public occasions: and what seems to corroborate my opinion of their having been thus mounted, is, that in clearing out the dirt from Captain Lockett's Jasper cylinder, (which is somewhat more than two inches in length,) I found it to contain the remains of an axis of iron.

The smaller cylinders I conceive to be probably of less remote antiquity, or in other words to have been produced after the clumsiness of early contrivance had in some degree yielded to considerations of convenience, if not of elegance. The largest class, are none of them—at least none that I have yet seen—hollowed at the sides, whilst some of the middle-sized and smaller ones are; and this I imagine to have been done, that their concavities might set the more easily, and be worn with the less inconvenience, on the convexity of a man's arm or neck, or (those of the smallest dimensions of all) on his finger or thumb.

The same kind of perforation which in the larger signets served

for the admission of an axis, served in these smaller ones as the occasional passage for a string of silk or leather, or to attach them to metal finger-rings or armlets ; so that when their possessors travelled on journeys of business, these elaborately wrought instruments of ratification, these pledges of honour, or of superstitious faith, became at once easily portable, and personal ornaments.

Judah was travelling thus, at a time when patriarchs, as far as is known, were neither encumbered with money, nor purses, nor pockets, when he happened on that unfortunate rencontre with Tamar, to which we are indebted for the earliest scriptural mention of a signet. Another incidental mention of an oriental signet of this kind, occurs in Ferdosi's ancient Persian Poem, which is entitled *Shah Namah*, (or the book of Kings,) and which details amongst the earlier historical events of that empire, the exploits of the Persian hero Roostum, the Alfred, or rather the Arthur, of his country.

Ferdosi (as quoted by Sir John Malcolm,) records, that when Sohrab, the son of this hero, had received his death-wound from the hand of his unknown father, he tore open his mail, and shewed the seal which his mother had placed *on his arm*, when she revealed to him the secret of his birth, and bade him seek his father. "The sight of his own *signet* (says Ferdosi,) rendered Roostum quite frantic," &c.<sup>a</sup>

The story is romantic, and perhaps fabulous; but the fact that signets were thus worn, may easily be credited. It is most likely that the poet copied it from nature, and it proves that Ferdosi knew his Persian readers would believe of their remote ancestry, that they had signets, and that those signets were of a nature to be occasionally worn on the arm.

The era, however, of the wild and wondrous exploits of Roostum, is nearer to the time of Nebuchadnezzar than to that of the patriarch Judah ; nor do I place so much reliance on the Poem of Ferdosi, as on the evidence I derive from Holy Writ ; and I therefore shall (with

<sup>a</sup> See Malcolm's *Persia*, vol. i. p. 37.



leave of the Society,) return to that earlier period which brings the Hebrews, and those other nations which are believed to have been of Assyrian descent, as it were more in contact with the customs of ancient Babylon, and of their Chaldean ancestors.

In the book of Job there is an allusion so direct to the ancient mode of sealing among those oriental nations of which I am treating, and even to the peculiar form of their seals, that (as in the instance I have cited from Ferdosi,) it would be far more difficult to suppose the passage which contains it, is not copied from the pre-existing practice, than that it is. The passage occurs in the 38th chapter, where the Almighty himself is introduced as silencing the controversy between Job and his friends, by asserting the eternal truths of his own Omnipotence, as displayed in the wonders of creation. Having spoken of the formation of the earth, the clouds, and the sea, in a strain of sublime interrogation, he demands, in the twelfth and succeeding verses, "Hast thou commanded the morning since thy days? and caused the day-spring to know his place, that it might take hold of the ends of the earth?—It is turned as clay to the seal," &c.

The most learned authorities seem to agree in informing us, that the land of Uz, the scene of the poem of Job, was situate in Edom; that the Edomites, like the Jews, were descendants from Abraham; and that this divine work was written before the Egyptian exodus. The time and marvellous events of which it treats (as far as is ascertained) were therefore coeval with, or happened soon after, the administration of the patriarch Joseph in Egypt.

Mr. John Mason Good, who has favoured the public with a new and luminous arrangement and translation of this extraordinary production, affirms that there is hardly any passage in the whole poem that has been supposed so difficult of elucidation as that which I have cited; "nor, (continues he), have I hitherto met with a single rendering that is perspicuous or will bear a critical examination. Schultens says, he has compared and examined with great attention the different attempts of the interpreters to explain the 14th verse, but con-

fesses that from none of them has he been able to extract its meaning : and even Reiske, the boldest critical expositor we are possessed of, finishes with exclaiming, *Fateor me non capere.*"

Now Schultens and Reiske have failed of their object, not, (as may well be supposed,) from lack of scholarship or of judgment, but for want of the local antiquarian knowledge which these ancient cylinders supply; and Mr. Good himself, in this instance, (however admirably he has in other respects treated his subject) is, from the same cause, not a whit more successful than his predecessors. His version of the passage in question, is

" Within thy days hast thou ordained the dawn  
And appointed to the day-spring his post,  
That they should lay *gold* on the *skirts* of the earth,  
And evil-doers be terrified away from it ?  
Canst thou cause them to bend round as clay to the *mould*,  
So that they are made to set like a garment ?"

As the sense of these verses is obscure; as it differs from the rendering of every other Hebrew scholar that I have consulted; and does not appear consistent with common sense or itself, even with the help of two pages of notes; I shall venture to argue that it cannot be the true meaning of the original. We may safely believe that evil-doers were not in the days of Job, any more than at present, terrified away from skirts or other places where gold was laid. Neither does the substitution of *mould* for *seal* at all clear the sense, but the contrary; for Mr. Good, remarking on this verse, says, that " canst thou cause them to bend round as clay to the mould ?" would be rather more literally rendered if the word *to* were omitted, and if it were written " Canst thou cause them to bend round as clay the mould ;" but here again, in his aversion to the idea of a seal, he says, this really means, not as clay causes the mould to bend round, but " as the mould doth clay."

I shall now request the Society's attention whilst I, fact by fact, and inference by inference, pursue the meaning of these verses in



the manner that appears to me most simple and perspicuous; at the same time not disregarding that impressive opening of the chapter containing them, which to the end of time should sound awfully in the ears of biblical critics.

The chapter begins, "Then the Lord answered Job out of the whirlwind and said, Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge?" and after those grand interrogations, which have been so frequently admired, respecting the formation of the earth, clouds, and sea, he proceeds: "Hast thou commanded the morning since thy days? Hast thou caused the day-spring to know his place that it might take hold of the ends of the earth, that the wicked might be shaken out of it?"

Some slight degree of confusion between the light of morning, and that religious light, or day-spring of truth and justice, to which it is likened, must here be confessed to exist (at least in the English translation); and for the transition from literal light, to light personified and invested with knowledge and power; the idiom of the Hebrew language, or the elevated ardour of the poet's imagination, must be accountable. If it is not critical, it is grand: and scarcely does the want of grammatical construction throw even a faint shade over the general meaning of the sentence, nor does it affect at all the metaphor of the seal which follows, and which it is my purpose to explain. The day-spring to be understood in the second interrogation, is poetically adverted to by St. Luke, (chap. i. ver. 7.) on the occasion of Zachariah's prophecy respecting the appearance of St. John the Baptist, the Aurora of the Sun of Righteousness; where he says, "The day-spring from on high hath visited us, to give light to them that sit in darkness." In Job, however, the personified day-spring is made to "take hold of the ends of the earth, that the wicked might be shaken out of it:" that is to say, their wickedness-being brought to light, the punishment which legal justice inflicts, shall follow the exposure. This meaning results even to the Bible-readers of the present day; but what more terrible sentiment must have been felt by those

disputants who, throughout the poem, have been darkening counsel by words without knowledge, it might be thought foreign to our antiquarian purpose, to attempt to explain.

The next verse proceeds, "It is turned as clay to the seal, and they stand as a garment," or, as the latter member of the sentence is rendered by Junius and Tremellius, "they present themselves like her coverings."

It seems here proper to note that, as the text implies, the sealing substance of the land of Uz, and probably that of the nations on the banks of the Euphrates, at this remote period, was clay—the ooze of that river: The very same substance, levigated perhaps, of which the stamped Babylonian bricks are formed. And it may also be worthy of remark, that of the various substances (such as waxes, pastes, &c.) on which I have tried to impress these ancient signets, I have found clay the fittest for the purpose both of receiving and retaining the impression. And though a Copernican objector might argue here, that it is not the light of the morning which is turned, but the Earth toward the light; yet this would be but casuistry. The poet who wrote this wonderful book, probably believed otherwise. Or, if this point be still regarded as of any importance, it may be answered, so does the seal which is compared to Earth, in fact turn (on its axis during the operation of impressing it) toward the clay which is compared to light: and if it be true, as Volney has asserted, that some of the oriental nations of antiquity believed the Earth to be of a cylindrical form, and have so represented it among their hieroglyphics, the metaphor will be still more complete, and the words contained in our English translation of the preceding verse, "that it might take hold of the ends of the earth," be expressively correct, whether we regard the word *it* as referring to the light of morning, or as denoting that searching ray of Providence which brings moral turpitude to view. The latter, however, is the meaning to which the text before us has more especial reference. "*It* is turned as clay to the seal, and *they* stand, or present themselves as a garment," means, that the wicked



spoken of in the preceding verse, stand confessed, or exposed to view like the embroidery of a garment. Or rather, I think, when this verse is regarded, together with the preceding, the analogy is, that the wicked, and the dark contents of the seal, are both cast off, as a garment is cast off, a thing that has fitted and adhered.

It is the blending of the literal and figurative meanings together, (which is done in all the translations that I have had opportunity of consulting,) that has somewhat perplexed the passage, and conspired with their ignorance of cylindrical seals to perplex also those commentators who have busied themselves in its explication. They have fancied that the seals of Edom could be of no other form than that of the seals which are in modern use. But now that these revolving seals are produced, I should expect that the clouds of learned conjecture which have obscured the subject, would be dispelled, and the meaning of this mysterious passage shine forth like the morning light in the superb metaphor before us: for, from the whole passage, when viewed with the seals, results an interesting and beautiful similitude between three dissimilar things; that is to say, between the light of morning passing round a darkened world, and disclosing its contents; and that intellectual light, emanating from the Deity, which exposes in their true forms the dark deeds and moral deformities of the wicked; and the operation of impressing one of these ancient cylindrical seals on clay, which bends as the cylinder revolves in delivering its impression, stands around it curvedly as a garment, (till you flatten it whilst in its moist state,) and renders conspicuous to view the dark contents of the intaglio engraving.

The words which immediately follow, are perfectly homogeneous with the explanation which I have here ventured to submit. "For from the wicked their light is withheld," clearly means that Providence discloses the evil deeds of the wicked, by means of which their infatuation renders them blind to the approach. The remainder of the fifteenth verse is easily understood, and has no reference to our cylinders. I shall therefore here beg leave to close my reflections on the *use* to which these ancient gems were applied.

Of *their engraved contents* I have thought much, but have purposely avoided mentioning those thoughts in the present essay: not only because I have drawn more largely on the time and patience of the Society than I had at first intended, but also because I am unwilling to anticipate, or run the risque of contravening, what my friend Captain Lockett may have to say respecting them in his forth-coming volume of *Babylonian Travels*.

I have the honour to remain, Sir,

Your faithful and obedient Servant,

J. LANDSEER.

*Foley Street, Jan. 27th, 1817.*

The Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. G.C.B. P.R.S. &c. &c. &c.



XLVI. *An Account of the Ancient Constitution, Discipline, and Usages of the Cathedral Church of Exeter: by JOHN JONES, Esq. F. S. A. in a Letter to CHARLES BARATTY, Esq. F. S. A.*

Read 13th March, 1817.

Franklyn, Devon, 2d Feb. 1817.

MY DEAR SIR,

I SEND you my papers relating to the Ancient Constitution, Discipline, and Usages of the Cathedral Church of Exeter; requesting you to submit them to the Society of Antiquaries: and, as I am not aware that the public is possessed of any information on such a subject, except the meagre account in Dugdale's History of St. Paul's, and some few passages in Archdeacon Reynolds's Tract on Church Government, and in Archdeacon Churton's Life of Dean Nowell, I think it probable that the Society may find them not undeserving their notice.

Sincerely your's,

JOHN JONES.

To Charles Baratty, Esq. F. S. A. Inner Temple.

THE duties of the Roman Catholic Clergy are little known, at present, in this country; and the Constitution, Usages, and Discipline of an ancient English Cathedral Church, anterior to the Reformation, are, in our times, matters of curiosity. The few remaining sources of information concerning them are so difficult of access, that the en-

suing History, which I have collected from a series of statutes of the Bishops of Exeter, extending from the time of Bishop Marshall, in the reign of Richard the First, down to that of Bishop Oldam in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and from other authentic muniments, may not be unacceptable. The Statutes alluded to are, for the most part, dispersed among the registers of the bishops of this diocese;<sup>a</sup> and the earlier ones are all collected together in a more modern manuscript of eighty-nine large pages in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, described, "Cod. MS. A. Wood Empt. N° 9." From these materials the following compilation has been formed. It is to be observed, that the Constitution of this Church, as it appears in the following pages, is precisely that in which it subsisted at the very eve of the Reformation: and that Exeter Cathedral was, during the lapse of three full centuries immediately preceding the Reformation, one of the richest and most magnificent ecclesiastical establishments in the kingdom. If there shall appear some few discordancies and obscurities, they exist in the original documents, and are not chargeable on the compiler.

The body of ecclesiastics belonging to the Cathedral, exclusively of the Bishop, consisted of a *Dean*, twenty-four *Canons*, twenty-four

<sup>a</sup> The episcopal registers of this see begin with the death of bishop Blöndy, which happened on the feast of St. Stephen the Protomartyr, A. D. 1257. Bishop Bytton's, from the year 1292 to 1306, is unfortunately lost; but the acts of the other bishops of this diocese, until the Reformation, are, for the most part, complete and in the highest state of preservation. Happily they have escaped the fate deplored by Wharton—"Horum (sc. Scriptorum rerum ecclesiasticarum) autem pars minima ad nos transmissa est; haud ita temporis injuriâ tamen quàm sacrilegio intercepta. Perierunt pars maxima, quando avarâ sæculi superioris iniquitate monasteria eversa sunt. Ecclesiæ collegiatæ demolitæ, bibliothecæ utrarumque direptæ, laceratæ, vilissimis usibus vel etiam flammis damnatæ. Atque utinam Ecclesiæ Cathedrales Sacrilegorum Rapinam effugere potuissent! Harum etiam aliquot archiva homines nequissimi mutilârunt; distraxerunt, fœdârunt. Id. in plurimis avaritia et impietas, in nonnullis superstitionis delendæ pretextu, omnia ecclesiæ suæ monumenta et registra igni tradidisse." Præf. in Angliam Sacram, p. 10.



*Vicars*, an indefinite number of *Annivelars* or *Annivellaries*, twelve *Secondaries*, four *Custors* or Keepers, and fourteen *Choir-Boys*, besides other inferiour officers and servants. Of the twenty-four Canons, the chief were, the Precentor, the Chancellour, the Treasurer: which three, with the Dean, were styled dignitaries; the Archdeacon of Exon, the Archdeacon of Totnes, the Archdeacon of Cornwall, the Archdeacon of Barum, and the Penitentiary and Sub-Dean, whose offices were usually, if not always, united in the same person. The other sixteen Canons were termed Ordinary Canons (*simplices Canonici*). The Vicars were strictly Vicars, the servants or vicegerents of their respective masters, the canons. The offices of Annivelars, Secondaries, Custors, and other inferiour ministers, will be shown in the sequel.

It is evident, from the registers, and from all the records relating to this Church, that the clergy of Exeter Cathedral, were seculars, and not monks.

The canonical hours, or seven hours of prayer, in the Roman service, so often mentioned in the ensuing pages, are these. Mattins and Lauds, at midnight, and generally undivided, although distinct canonical hours: Prime, at six in the morning: Tierce, at nine in the morning: Sext, at noon: None, at three in the afternoon: Vespers, about six in the afternoon, with Compline, which is no more than the conclusion or completion of the daily service. Besides these, the Choir were obliged to recite very frequently, the office of the B. V. M., the office of the dead, and the gradual and penitential psalms: so that, with the high mass, the cathedral clergy could hardly be less than five hours every day in choir.

#### DEAN.

The Dean was bound to reside and exercise his office in the church in person; and his spiritual jurisdiction, out of the church, either by himself or by a proper official, on pain of losing his daily distribution

for a month, and to be otherwise punished, at the pleasure of the Bishop, if his contumacy required it. The Precentor, Chancellour and Treasurer, were to execute their offices and duties under the like penalty. (Stat. Bishop Bronescombe, 1275.) Bishop Grandisson, in 1358, reproveth the then Dean for his pernicious negligence and dissimulation, in suffering irregularities by the members of the church to go unpunished. He was to note and punish with diligence the vicars and other ministers, and especially the secondaries, for faults and absences. (Stat. Bp. Grandisson, 1358.) He or the President of the Chapter, was to disclose to the Bishop the excesses of the Canons; and, with the Chapter and in the Chapterhouse, was, under pain of the greater excommunication, to correct, punish, and chastise (doubtless by flagellation,) the vicars and other inferiour ministers for negligence, irreverence, or indevotion in divine offices, and for incontinence. (Stat. Bp. Brantyngham, 1387.) Bishop Brewer, in 1231, appropriated to the Dean, the churches of Braunton and Tawton, with the dependent chapels of Swimbridge and Lankey. (Regr. Bp. Bronescombe, fo. 37.)

### PRECENTOR.

The Precentor had the church of Peyngton for governing the choir<sup>a</sup> and singing boys, by the gift of Bishop Quivil; and he had

<sup>a</sup> The phrases "*cum regimine chori*,"—"diebus quibus chorus regitur," frequently occurring in my authorities, must, I think, have some technical meaning which I have been unable to ascertain, although I have made enquiry of many ecclesiastics of the Roman church in this country and on the continent. In bishop Lyndwood's *Provinciale*, fo. 104. (edit. Oxon. 1679), I find the following passage:—"Episcopus namque Sarum in Collegio Episcoporum est Precentor, et temporibus, quibus Archiepiscopus Cantuarien. solenniter celebrat divina præsente collegio episcoporum, *Chorum* in divinis officiis *regere* debet de observantia et consuetudine antiqua." Upon enquiry of a reverend and learned Gentleman, a Doctor of Sorbonne, formerly a Canon of the cathedral of Sens, and now the Abbot of La Trappe, he writes,—"*Je ne vois rien, Monsieur, dans notre ordre, qui me présente le sens de ces mots, cum regimine chori,—diebus quibus chorus regitur. Mais il y avoit a Sens un Préchantre,*



also the Church of Chudleigh by the gift of the same bishop. The Precentor's residence in Chudleigh parish was at Ugbrooke, the present seat of Lord Clifford.

#### CHANCELOUR.

The Chancellour had the church of Saint Neuline, for the Lecture, by the gift of Bishop Quivil. It was his duty to compose the letters missive concerning the affairs of the church, and, when composed, to read them to his fellow canons and brothers assembled in chapter. (Stat. Bp. Brantyngham, 1387.)

#### TREASURER.

The Treasurer had the church of Saint Probus, by the gift of Bishop Quivil, for the care and custody of the things of the church. The Custors and servants of the church were under his immediate superintendence; and he was to take care that the custors did their duty as to bell-tolling. (Stat. Bp. Quivil, 1280. Stat. Bp. Brantyngham, 1387.) As early as the episcopate of Bishop Bartholomew, in 1163, there pertained to the Treasurer three estates without the city, viz. Bera, Morcheshull, and Donllysforda. In the city, an house next the cathedral and an orchard. In the church, wax and candles throughout the year, except at the feast of the Purification of the B. V. M. and Saint Peter ad Vincula; at which, the canons had half of the wax and candles; so, however, that the lights which the Treasurer should minister at the purification should be his. Also one half

*Precentor*; c'étoit une des dignités. Il avoit en tout temps la surintendance du chant et des ceremonies, étoit le supérieur des chantres, et avoit sous lui, comme lieutenant, un sous-chantre, qui étoit un demi-prébendé non capitulaire, et conduisoit les chantres. Mais, outre cela, les jours de grande fête ou deux chanoines étoient chantres, les jours seulement ou les chanoines portoient la soutane rouge, il étoit en chappe et en rocher, un baton pastoral à la main, avec des gants et un anneau, marchoit apres les chantres, et regloit l'office. Il est possible que ce soit la le sens des Mots, *diebus quibus chorus regitur*; d'autant que cette eglise, étant très ancienne, on y avoit conservé avec grand soin, tous les vieux usages."

of the oblations on the altars throughout the year belonged to the Treasurer; unless bequests to the church should be placed on the altars, which were to be applied to those uses for which they were given. Besides, one half of the Pentecostal oblations, whensoever processions should be made, at that time, in Devon; and half of those which should arise from the bells. Also three marks of the common stock to be given for hiring custors, keepers of the church, whom the Treasurer, for the time being, should appoint at his will, and who were to swear fidelity to the Chapter in the chapter-house, and to the Treasurer, wheresoever he would. The Chapter also and the Treasurer were, out of the common stock, to minister wine, victuals, and straw for the church, and frankincense, and wages for washing the vestments and ornaments of the church, and ropes for the bells. The Treasurer also ministered lights throughout the whole year; and had at his disposal the cemetery and right of burial. Of those things which arose from the Chapter, the Treasurer had his portion, as the other canons, over and above what belonged to him as treasurer.

#### PENITENTIARY AND SUBDEAN.

The Penitentiary was a clergyman especially appointed by the diocesan to pronounce upon the nature and duration of the penances enjoined by the ancient canons, and to confer absolution in those particular cases which the bishop had reserved to his own tribunal. The reserved cases were crimes of peculiar enormity, or involving public scandal; and the motive which engaged the episcopal body to reserve such cases was to implant in the penitent a more lively horror of his crime, and to prevent the perpetration by the difficulty of obtaining absolution: but there was no reservation in articulo mortis.

The office of Subdean was founded on the Nones of July, 1284, by Bishop Quivil, who endowed it with the church of Egloshele in Cornwall. This officer was to supply for the Dean in his absence, and to act as the Bishop's penitentiary. Once during the year he was



obliged to visit the diocese of Exeter, “*ut infirmi qui ad civitatem Exon. non possint accedere ab eo animarum suarum remedium recipiant salutare.*” William De Bisiman was appointed the first Subdean, and was installed by the bishop himself in the third stall of the choir of the cathedral, on the right hand of the Dean. This office of Subdean and Penitentiary was common at that time in cathedral churches; for the Bishop says, “*Volentes ecclesiam Exoniensem aliis Ecclesiis cathedralibus Regni Anglicæ conformare.*” (Register Bronescombe and Quivil, p. 125).<sup>a</sup>

### CANONS AND VICARS.

From the time of the foundation of the church there were twenty-four canons, each of whom, whether resident or absent, was accustomed to receive only six marks yearly in the name of Prebend;<sup>b</sup> so that whatever of the revenues of the church accrued, over and above such prebends, was divided, in the name of daily distributions, by the steward of the church, or by certain persons appointed for that purpose, amongst the truly resident: which residentiaries were bound to assist at all canonical hours by day and night, and personally to sustain the honours and burdens of the church and, in priests' orders, to celebrate divine service.

There were also, in the church, from the time of its foundation, twenty-four vicars, each attached to a canon, in divers holy orders ministering in the same church; of whom, each had for his support

<sup>a</sup> “*Collatio penitentiariæ sive subdecanatus in ecclesia Exon. Item 5<sup>o</sup> die Nov. 1350, Dominus contulit auctoritate ordinaria Magistro Henrico Pyke, presbytero canonico Exon. officium penitentiariæ sive subdecanatus vacans in dicta ecclesia Exon.*” Regist. Grandisson, vol. iii. fo. 94. Thomas Pesemer, who was subdean and penitentiary, resigned in 1370, and was succeeded in both offices by Thomas Draper. Regist. Brantyngham, vol. ii. fo. 9.

<sup>b</sup> Plympton Priory enjoyed the perquisite of six marks sterling from every prebend of the cathedral church of Exeter, on the death of each prebendary canon, or in the event of such canon's entering into the religious state. This, in the time of Bishop Grandisson, was an ancient custom. See Grandisson's Register, vol. ii. fo. 12. A. D. 1334.

twenty shillings yearly, in the name of his master. They had also equally amongst them in common, the profits of the church of Wodebery, which had been given to them by Bishop Henry Marshall. They were bound to assist at divine service at all canonical hours, unless with the leave of their respective superiours; and to make perpetual residence; and were not amoveable from their vicariates without reasonable cause, and by the Dean and Chapter and Diocesan.

That canon only was to be accounted a resident, in the perception of the daily distribution, who should personally assist at mattins and high mass, or prime or vespers, except that he might have one night's respite every week. And, as all the surplus of the church revenues, over and beyond the six prebendal marks to each canon, had been accustomed to be divided amongst the resident canons, in the name of daily distributions; to the intent that the residents might be the more animated to the execution of their office, it was ordained by Bishop Bronescombe, (Stat. 4. Kal. May, 1268,) that, each resident canon should receive, when resident, on each ordinary day, twelve pence; on feast days, or those days on which the choir is governed (*quibus chorus regitur*;) or the sequence or tract is sung, fifteen pence; on double festivals of the second and first class, eighteen pence, together with the accustomed loaves, in the name of daily distributions. And what residue should still remain of the church revenues was equally to be divided amongst the resident canons, on the last day of every quarter of the year.

Each vicar and priest attached by a certain subjection to the respective canons, was bound punctually and devoutly to assist at mattins, all canonical hours, vespers, compline, and high mass, and other services, in their order. In default of attendance, he was, after the third offence, for each day's offence, deprived of his weekly distribution of that week, for each canonical hour's absence: and if he continued his fault, he was deprived of his monthly stipend, to be applied towards the fabric of the church, and divested of his vicariate.



The canons were not to hinder the vicars from a due execution of their ecclesiastical functions, by employing them in their own domestic or household occupations.

The canons and vicars might be blooded at such times as they should want venesection, by leave of the dean: with this difference, that the canons might have three nights' absence from the choir; the vicars but two nights.

The canons, like those of other cathedral churches in England, stood together at the two extreme parts of the choir, the middle place being reserved to the vicars. As thus, on the Dean's part, next to him after the Archdeacon of Exeter, stood six ordinary canons; so as that the seniors in the church had precedence of their juniors; the priests, although juniors, of their seniors, being deacons; the deacons also of the subdeacons. At the other extremity of that part after the stall of the Archdeacon of Totnes, the same order was observed as to the other canons. As to the canons also on the opposite part, installed after the stalls of the dignities of that part at the two extremities of the same, the like order was observed as to the station of the same canons and vicars. The same order was observed with respect to the sitting of the canons in chapter, and in processions. (Stat. Bp. Quivil, 1280.) The canons, vicars, and other ministers of the church, were to assist at all obsequies of the dead, and all accustomed masses on the anniversaries in the church; otherwise they were to lose all emoluments arising therefrom.

Each canon, being in extremis, had the power of freely disposing, by a supplement to his will, of his common of the year next after his death; so that he might assign it entirely to whomsoever and to what pious uses he chose. And if the dying canon had a vicar, the same vicar might remain in the service of the church for one year after the canon's death; to receive of the prebend, as he was wont, twenty shillings. If he had no vicar, a fit one might be presented by the dying canon, if he thought proper, with the assent of the Chapter. (Stat. of Bishop Marshall, without date.)

Every canon, resident and supported by the daily distributions, was to be in priest's orders. The canon who neglected to ask for his daily loaf, was to lose it for that day. All the canons receiving their common and daily distribution, were to make true residence; and the stewards the like; except to the latter the indulgence of one day in the week, as a recompence for their labour; on pain of the loss of daily distribution, for the first transgression, one day; for the second, two days; for the third, three days: and if the dean did not punish the third fault as aforesaid, he was to lose his daily distributions for a week, to be converted to the use of the resident canons; and, nevertheless, to be further punished by the bishop. (Stat. Bishop Bronescombe, 1276.)

No canon resident was to sleep out of the city more than once in a week. Nor was to take the wine which was due to him by reason of the sequence (*ratione sequenciæ*), unless he assisted at the high mass of the day. (Stat. Bishop Quivil, 1283.)

Bishop Stapeldon, deeming the benefaction of Bishop Quivil (who had appropriated the churches of Hembury, Withecomb, and Saint Constantine to the cathedral, in order to encrease the daily distributions of the resident canons,) insufficient, gave them, in 1315, the profits of the church of Tiverton, and a pension of four marks issuing out of the church of Dunsford, to be converted to daily distributions for them; so that, on every double festival, eighteen shillings sterling were divided equally amongst those who should then be present; and the residue divided amongst the resident canons.

Bishop Grandisson, soon after his accession to the see, enjoined, by a statute of the 14 Kal. January, 1328, that daily and other distributions should be received only by the truly resident, and such as assisted at the daily and nightly offices, and the exequies of the dead or obits: and he heavily complains, that some of the canons, for temporal gain, like hirelings if not like robbers, feigned to reside, who did not attend canonical hours: that some were addicted more to private feasting; others to hunting and fowling, than to devotional exercises or fra-



ternal solace: that although they seldom, and even then late, entered the church or choir, as well the canons as the inferiour ministers, used to talk and whisper in the choir, and retire before the offices were ended: and, that some of the canons neglected to keep hospitality, and received the bread and daily distributions of forty-six days, and the dividend of the whole quarter, who, during that quarter very seldom slept in Exeter, or ate in their own house, or at their own table; and then took their repasts so clandestinely and unseasonably, that neither the ministers of the church, nor the boys of the choir, who did not obtain sufficient diet elsewhere than at the canons' table, were duly supported. And Bishop Brantyngham complained, that some of the canons contented themselves with one only servant, going in a mean dress like a widowed pauper (*ad instar viduatæ pauperculæ*); others, like a grammar schoolmaster, with only two little boys following them, for their entire household establishment: and he therefore ordained, by Stat. of 20th September, 1387, that each canon should have a competent and decent household, according to his estate, and should use hospitality, on pain of his daily distribution being withdrawn. And, by the same Statute, he enjoins, on pain of the greater excommunication, that the canons personally assist at the canonical hours, or at least at mattins, prime, or vespers, and high mass, in a canonical habit, in the choir; or else, should not partake of, or taste the daily distributions, but give up their portion of them, for the benefit and increase of the portions of the other canons who did assist and were truly resident.

From an ancient custumary of the church it appears, that the ancient custom of the church was, that all the goods of the church should be in common amongst the canons; and though they did not live in common, in one refectory or dormitory, they, nevertheless, took out of the common stock, whence they might live in this manner. All their proceeds, whether of houses, lands, or churches, were reduced by the stewards or farmers into ready money, which money was brought to Exeter at the four quarters of the year, Michaelmas,

Christmas, Lady-day, and Midsummer, what was due to the chapter at each quarter. The money was delivered to the stewards of the chapter who were wont to be elected at Michaelmas; that, with the advice of the chapter, they might dispose of all the things and affairs of the church in the following year. The stewards distributed, of the money which they had in hand, first, twenty-four pounds to the twenty-four canons, in the name of prebend, to each twenty shillings whether they were present or absent; and six pounds to the twenty-four vicars, to each five shillings, in the name of vicariate, who were bound to be present, unless by leave of the chapter. The residue of the money they reserved to buy wheat and to make weeks, (*septimanas faciendas*,)<sup>a</sup> and for wine; and they made three tallages, or tallies, of the wheat, weeks, and wine, and a fourth of other necessities in that quarter, which tallage was called "*Præter*." Michaelmas quarter being ended, the canons assembled before Christmas, that they might audit the accounts of the stewards, viz. of the accustomed prebends and vicariates, and of the wheat, weeks, and wine; and of the other necessities according to the four tallages made; and what surplus there was, was divided in equal portions to the canons who had made residence during the whole preceding quarter, or the greater part of it; and in the same manner at Easter, Midsummer, and Michaelmas.

Of the lands and churches, which were not set to farm, the stewards provided out of the monies a treasure or common stock, that the lands might be cultivated, the tithes collected, and other necessary things done; and out of the collected corn and tithes they deducted all expenses, and rendered the treasure or common stock out of which they had borrowed. The residue they divided into four parts, restoring the first part to the canons, who partook of the reckonings made at Easter; the second part, to those who partook of the

<sup>a</sup> i. e. Weekly allowances, or portions of provisions or diet. In French, the canon is still called "*Semainier*;" his duty, "*sa semaine*." So there was "*une semaine de vin, de bled, de sel*," &c.



reckonings made at Midsummer; the third part, to those who partook of the reckonings made at Michaelmas; the fourth part, to those who partook of the reckonings at Christmas: that business might uniformly proceed, as well in the things set to farm, as in those which they retained in their hands. From which provident disposition it happened, that they always had in hand, in the beginning of each quarter, from the quarter which preceded, money wherewith to pay the prebends and vicariates, and to serve bread and wine, and weeks to the canons as they resided, and for other necessities, until the beginning of the following quarter. Hence it was, that no canon was moved against another canon for having a richer prebend than himself; as they were all equal in their prebends, whether resident or not. No resident was moved against another resident, because of the increase to the canons who resided during the whole of the preceding quarter or the greater part of it; since it was in the power of all of them to reside or not. Nor was any one moved, if he should recede at the end of any quarter, for this, that he did not partake of that which was paid at the end of that quarter; since it seemed to belong to the past quarter: because, if any one came in the beginning of any quarter, he would partake of that which seemed to belong to the preceding quarter. Otherwise the stewards would not have in hand, in the beginning of each quarter, the whole which was to be distributed in the ensuing quarter. On account of all which circumstances, says this ancient customary, it happened that there was greater peace and tranquillity in this church than in some other cathedrals.

If a canon of this cathedral was a residentiary in any other cathedral in one and the same year, or in any part of it, his residence here was deemed a feigned one, and he was to receive nothing of the daily distributions. As, in the time of Bishop Oldam, it had happened, that by reason of law-suits and other burdens, the portions of the canons' distributions were much diminished, and were likely to be more so; as there was not in the church a common treasury to support such-burdens: whence it arose, that hospitality and other mat-

ters, which had used to be honourably performed to the honour of God in the same church, could not, unless a fit remedy were provided, be sustained as theretofore they had been; this bishop considered, that if the costs of the feasts and banquets which the canons had, on entering upon their residence, been accustomed to give to the dean and chapter, vicars, and other ministers of the church, were to be applied towards supporting those burdens of the church, and of the canons so entering upon their residence, a considerable benefit would result: that such feedings, feasts, and banquettings were much to be reprobated: and that the canons' substance was uselessly exhausted by them; when the unbridled and ostentatious voluptuousness of the age had grown to such a height, that in making such feasts, what formerly might have been defrayed with twenty pounds, could then scarcely be accomplished with fifty. He therefore, with the concurrence of the chapter, prohibited them for the future. And he ordained, that thenceforth every canon about to begin his residence, should deposit in the Exchequer the forty pounds he would have uselessly consumed in such feasts; of which sum there should be applied, ten pounds to the ministers of the church; that they might the more willingly and devoutly apply themselves to divine offices, viz. To the common use of the college of vicars, four pounds; to the annivelars, four marks; to the secondaries, forty shillings; and to the choristers, twenty-six shillings and eight-pence. And the residue, viz. thirty pounds, to be applied in defending lawsuits, and sustaining the other burdens of the church. No canon was to be admitted to residence, unless at the time of his protestation and admission, he was worth, in possessions, to the amount of forty pounds, all charges deducted; of which he should make oath. Every canon to be installed or inducted, whether to the four dignities, or the archdeaconries, or to the office of sub-dean, or admitted a mere canon, was, at the time of his installation or induction, to make oath, before the president and chapter, that he would make no demand or claim against the executors or administrators of his predecessor, on pretence of dilapidation; whether it



were for the mansion of the deceased, or the houses or churches annexed and appropriated to the same dignities or offices; unless for that which should be adjudged to him for such dilapidation, if any there were, by the decree of the President and Chapter: and the whole of what was so decreed to him, he was faithfully to lay out in useful repairs, within a year from the time of his receiving it. (Stat. Bp. Oldam, 1511.)

#### F A R M S.

By a statute of Bishop Bronescombe's of the 17th Kal. December, 1275, each canon was to have but one farm only; and those who had more were reduced to lose all but one. By a subsequent statute of the same Prelate's, made on the nones of September 1278, it is mentioned, that all the goods of the church arising from its possessions, assigned to the sustentation of the canons and inferiour ministers, came to the common Exchequer within the church; out of which the canons and inferiour ministers took their stipends at every quarter. In later times, for the animating and attracting of the canons to residence, the said possessions were divided, for the most part, into farms and farmlets, to the number of sixteen; out of which, each canon, as far as that number, after his complete year's residence, had, by option, one such farm or farmlet, then vacant or next to become vacant; rendering therefore, every quarter of the year, a certain quota of money into the said Exchequer, to support the aforesaid burdens, and taking to himself the residue; whence there was a stronger increase and preservation of hospitality and of the daily burdens in divine worship. But this, in after ages, had a contrary effect; for the canons, obtaining the richer farms and becoming opulent, indulged in ease, and remained hid in their farms the greater part of the year, far from hospitality and the daily burdens of the church; leaving hospitality with the burdens, to the few remaining resident canons. And in the time of Bishop Brantyngham, it is mentioned that then, and for a great number of years before, the manors, churches, and other ancient

possessions of the cathedral were, under the names of farms and farmlets, individually granted by the several canons for the particular advantage of each, for certain annual pensions, not half their value, which pensions were tardily paid; and sometimes, on the death of a canon, wholly withheld by fraud from his successor or survivors. And many canons, having completed only one year's residence, casually obtaining some of the richer farms, and then withdrawing, used unduly to spend the profits of their farms, which ought to be spent in the church, in remote and distant places out of the diocese, contrary to the institutions of the church and the intentions of its founders; bestowing nothing on their brethren who kept residence and sustained the heat and burden of the day, and leaving to them only the smaller and less advantageous farms; which also occasioned dissensions and litigation among the canons, to the great scandal of the church. The same prelate, Bishop Brantyngham, by a statute of 10th September, 1382, to remedy these abuses, ordained, with the concurrence and approval of the Chapter, that thenceforth such grants and assignments of farms and farmlets should cease; and, that all the manors, churches, possessions, and farms belonging to the church, and the rents and emoluments thereof, should, thenceforth, be divided in equal portions amongst the canons, according to the ancient custom of the church, for the common use of the resident canons.

#### CHAPTER.

In transacting all the greater concerns of the church, viz. in letting farms, presentation to benefices, and impleading pleas, the canons were convoked in chapter, and obliged to attend it within ten days; otherwise their ordinances were void, and the ordainers punished at the will of the bishop. All parliaments and ordinary transactions (simplices tractatus) of the canons were to be transacted on the Saturday, in chapter; but not during the celebration of high mass. (Stat. Bp. Bronescombe, 1275.) The superiour of the chapter present every Saturday, was to be in chapter to appoint, with the others, concerning



the service of the ensuing week, and to correct the defects of the past week. (Stat. Bp. Quivil, 1283.) All the canons were to have one day's notice previous to the transacting of the common business in chapter, and were to attend, on pain of losing all the benefit of the transactions of that day; and the dean or president failing to give notice, and the canons failing to attend, were further punishable at the will of the bishop. All the canons, vicars, annivelars, and other ministers, present at prime, were to go into the chapterhouse every day, and there daily to perform those things which pertained to divine service, and were wont to be said in, and belonged to, the chapter. (Stat. Bp. Brantyngham, 1387.) The collector of the rents within the city was to show his account of them before the chapter once a year. (Stat. Bp. Oldam, 1511.) The canonical bread was accustomed and ought to be good, white, and purely wheaten, of the weight of seventy three shillings and four pence when baked. (Stat. Bp. Bronescombe, 1276.)

#### VICARS.

The vicars, present at mattins, mass, and canonical hours, received the portions of those who were absent, and also of those who were dead, until their vacancies were supplied. And lest the vicariates should be longer vacant, and so divine worship be diminished, each canon, whose vicariate should happen to become vacant, being within the kingdom, was bound, within a month from its becoming vacant, to provide himself with a fit vicar; otherwise the dean, within eight days following, was bound, *ex officio*, to provide a vicar; and in default thereof, provision was to devolve to the bishop.<sup>a</sup> If the canon were beyond sea, the custom was for the dean to appoint. The weekly vicars of the church received the oblations offered by the devotion of the faithful, on the interment of the dead, to the extent of twelve

<sup>a</sup> John Cheyne, a canon, having neglected to provide a vicar; and the Dean having also omitted to exercise his right, the Bishop appointed Thomas Parle, in priests' orders, to be vicar to the above mentioned canon, 25th November, 1388.

pence; but if the oblation exceeded twelve pence, it belonged to the canon. (Stat. Bp. Bronescombe, 1276.) No vicar could farm or hold any cure out of the church. They were forbidden to frequent taverns, or to run about the streets, or frequent the houses of laymen. On pain of the greater excommunication, they were to dine and sup together in their common hall, which had been new built by Bishop Brantyngham, except only the vicars of the canons, whilst their masters resided and they should happen to sit at their master's table; and except such vicars as should be invited to the table of any canon, not being their master; or be invited out of the close by any honourable or discreet person: and they were to sleep in their own chambers, assigned to them in their new house of Kalender Hay, that they might be witnesses of each other's holy and discreet conversation.

The canonical loaves, which were given to certain vicars ordained to celebrate mass for the souls of certain persons every week, were given by Bishop Brantyngham to the use of all the vicars dwelling in the new-built house of Kalender Hay, to be eaten in their common hall there: and the bishop not intending to defraud the souls of the dead of the accustomed masses, ordained that the *Subchanter*, (whose office was appointed by Bishop Quivil,) should, every Saturday, name the vicars to celebrate successively the obits and annuals, on pain of the loss of the canonical bread, to be converted to pious uses for the souls of the departed.

All the vicars were to assist at the mattins of the B. V. M. as often as they should be said, after the mattins of the day: and were not to depart from the choir before the completion of the same mattins of the B. V. M. on pain of the greater excommunication. (Stat. Bp. Brantyngham, 1387.) It is worthy of remark, that throughout the Statutes there occur but four instances of grosser immoralities: the offenders were four vicars; and their names and offences, those of incontinence, are recorded in one of the statutes.

There was provided a library of books for ecclesiastical use, expressly for the solving of doubts and points of conscience only.



King Henry IV. by charter of 26th February, in the second year of his reign, after reciting that the vicars had "quoddam competens hospitium infra cæmeterium ejusdem Ecclesiæ propinquum," and had acquired certain lands, tenements, rents, services, and reversions, and had also the Church of Woodbery in the diocese of Exon appropriated to them in aid of their sustentation, erected them into a corporation, by the name of "Custos et Collegium Vicariorum de Choro Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Exoniæ;" and granted that one of the vicars should be Custos of the said college by the election of the other vicars of the same; and that they should have a common seal: which charter was afterwards confirmed by Inspeximus Charter of 3d June, 4 & 5 Phil. and Mary.

### ANNIVELARS.

The office of Annivellar requires a more particular description, collected chiefly from other documents than the Statutes.

The word Annivellar,<sup>a</sup> is evidently a corruption of "Annualarius," and means a Chantry-Priest, or clergyman appointed to celebrate, during the course of the year, the obit of some deceased person, with a certain stipend of marks or pounds, and other profits. In process of time, the number of these Annivelars, which in 1337 had amounted to twenty-one, became so considerable, that they had a separate college allotted to them for their residence within the close, next adjoin-

<sup>a</sup> The word "Annuellere," occurs in Chaucer's Chanones Yemannes Tale."

"In London was a Preest, an Annuellere,"

Upon which Mr. Tyrerwhitt has the following note:—"They were called *Annuelleres*, not from their receiving a yearly stipend, as the Gloss. explains it, but from their being employed solely in singing annuals, or anniversary masses, for the dead, without any cure of souls. See the Stat. 36 Edw. III. c. viii. where the *Chapelleins Parochiels* are distinguished from others *chantanz anuales, et a cure des almes nient entendanz*. They were both to receive yearly stipends, but the former was allowed to take six marks, and the latter only five. Compare Stat. 2 Hen. V. st. 2. c. ii. where the stipend of the *Chapellein Parochiel* is raised to eight marks, and that of the *Chapellein Annueler* (he is so named in the Statute,) to seven." Tyrerwhitt's Canterbury Tales of Chaucer, vol. ii. pp. 244, 506. edit. Oxf. 1798.

ing to the sub-deanery, and on the north side of it; and these buildings, till of late years, retained the name of the Annivellaries' College. The nature of their functions, appointments, and endowments will best appear from the following extracts, made about eighty years since, from muniments belonging to the Dean and Chapter.

“ Sciant præsentēs et futuri quod ego Johannes Wiger Miles, dedi concessi, et hac mea carta confirmavi Deo et Ecclesiæ beati Petri, Exon. et Dominis Decano et capitulo ecclesiæ ejusdem totum manerium meum de Thorverton tenendum et habendum dictis decano et capitulo, et eorum successoribus in perpetuum inveniēdo inde et faciēdo tres capellanos, viz. Duos divina celebrantes in altari Beatæ Virginis in navi ecclesiæ Exon.<sup>a</sup> coram quo Corpus Domini Henrici De Bratton, jacet humatum pro animabus regum Angliæ, et ejusdem Domini Henrici, et tertium pro anima mea et benefactorum meorum. Quilibet istorum trium capellanorum annuatim percipiat sexaginta solidos.” No date. The donor, Sir John Wiger, of Broadwood-Wiger, lived in the time of Henry III. and Edward I.

“ Omnibus sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Henricus Tropinell salutem. Noverit universitas vestra me dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse pro me et hæredibus meis in perpetuum Deo et Ecclesiæ Beati Petri, Exon. et capitulo ejusdem loci unam Seldam in magno vico civitatis Exon. quæ conjuncta est, &c. Ad anniversarium bonæ memoriæ Adæ de Sancta Brigida defuncti quondam precentoris dictæ ecclesiæ perpetuo in prædicta Exon. Ecclesia faciendum.” Hen. III.

“ To all men to whom this present writing shall come hyre, or se Thomas Acclum Clerke, sends greeting, That the will and intent of Master Robert Barforth was in forme following, That the feoffees of John his broder and heire, should find, or cause to be found or done

<sup>a</sup> This altar stood in the nave, on the south side of the entrance to the choir, and under the roodloft, now the organloft. This Henry de Bratton, or Bracton, had been Archdeacon of Barum, to which archdeaconry he was collated 21st January, 1263, and resigned the next year.



solemnly an yearely obit of dirige, comendations, and masse of requiem in y<sup>e</sup> cathedrall church of Saint Peter in Exeter, for the sowles of John Bothe, sometime Bishop of Exeter, of the said Robert Barforth, and all their friends sowlys. And the said obit to be done and solemnized in forme aforesaid, the 5. day of April yearely for ever more." Hen. VII.

"Omnibus Christi fidelibus, &c. Michael Cruce capellanus, et Richardus Morten capellanus salutem. Sciatis nos tradidisse, dimisisse, et confirmasse Jacobo Trevelyan, et aliis, omnia illa messuagia, &c. To this intent and condition, that the said James, &c. shall, with the rents and profits comeing of the premisses on the 6. of May, truly kepe and maintaine an yearely obit or anniversary in the Charnell house, among the annivellars of the cathedrall church of Exeter, for the sowles of Master John Ryse, late treasurer of the same church, his fader and moder, with all his friends. And every pryst or anniveller being present at Placebo to have 4*d*." 34 Hen. VIII.

"To all to whom this present will shall come hyre or see John Speke sends greeting, The will and intent of me the said John Speke, touching my mannor of Langford Fivehead is, that my trustees, immediately after my death, shall enfeoffe the dean and chanons residentiary of the Cathedral Church of Exeter, of and in the said manor, to this use and intent, That they shall find yearely forever an honest and a sad pryst to say and sing masse weekly and dayly, as oft as he shall be thereunto disposed in the New Chappell of Saint George, made and founded by me within the said cathedrall church, for the sowlys of me the said John Speke, my father and moder, my children, ancestors, and special friends, and for all Christian sowlys, yielding and paying to the said pryst yearely ten marks." 30th April, 1518.

"Annuel. Memd. quod Bartholomeus est juratus in scaccario Ecclesiæ Exon. 6. Aprilis, 1385, ad celebrandum pro animabus Rogeri Winkleigh, Walteri Lichlade, et Richardi Blondy, ad altare Sancti Pauli."

"Admissio duorum Annivellariorum Comitum Devon. 7 Augusti,

1385, Dominus Walterus Fitz, capellanus, admissus fuit in Annivellar. per decanum et canonicos caplum faciend. ad celebrandum pro anima domini Comitis Devon. viz. in Cantaria sua noviter fundata. Canonicam obedientiam decano et capitulo, et fideliter dictam Cantariam deservendum, tactis per eum sacris Dei Evangeliiis, juravit tunc ibidem."

"Eodem die Dominus Mattheus Stoke admissus fuit per eosdem decanum et capitulum ad dictam Cantariam celebrandum pro eodem, et juravit ut supra."

"Ultimo Martii, 1386, Dominus Willelmus Lichfield, capellanus, admissus fuit in Annuellar. per presidentem capituli et capitulum ad celebrandum pro animabus Johannis De Monte Acuto, et Johannis Wiger, coram Cruce in alto et recipiet per annum v marcas, et juravit obedientiam decano et capitulo."

"Eodem die Dominus Johannes Wigware fuit admissus in annuellar. ad celebrandum pro anima Thome De Bodham et juravit ut supra."

"22 Aprilis, 1387, Dominus Thomas King, capellanus fuit admissus in annuellar. et juratus ad celebrandum pro anima Hereford."

"Walterus Exbridge, capellanus admissus fuit per capitulum in annuellar. ad celebrandum pro anima Penbrock."

"Dominus Johannes Gennys, capellanus admissus fuit per capitulum in annivellar. ad celebrandum pro anima Bratton."

The Priests attached to celebrate the perpetual annuals were bound to follow the choir and canonical hours, the same as the vicars. Two of these priests or annivelars said matins and canonical hours, in the nave of the church, from the matins of the choir, unless in double festivals. All the obits and perpetual annuals were celebrated according to their institutions, reduced into a common writing, containing the mode of the institution, and the names of the persons for whom they were made; and from what and from how much they were wont, and ought to be sustained. Two persons, a canon and a vicar, were sworn to oversee them, who were called, the Stewards of the Obits;



that the one who was present might incessantly supply the place of him who was absent. (Stat. Bp. Bronescombe, 1275.) If the stewards of the obits did not distribute to the obit-priests their several portions, they were to forfeit the amount out of their own goods, to be converted to the use of the fabrick of the church. (Stat. Bp. Bronescombe, 1276.) The annivelars were bound to sustain the burden of the government of the choir in greater double festivals. After the mass, commonly called "Bratton's Mass," was sung, they were bound to take care, successively and devoutly, to celebrate masses, that those who frequented the church at various times might hear them; as all were unable to come to hear them all together. They were to assist at canonical hours and masses. No one was admitted an annivelar, unless found, by diligent examination, to be a fit person. (Stat. Bp. Brantyngham, 1387.) They were all to say masses in course and succession, according to the statutes and table thereof made, on pain of one penny, as often as they should offend. In all solemn masses in the choir, they were to sing the Epistle; except on the principal feasts and in doubles of the second and first class, when a vicar was entitled to the epistle: and they were to do all other things daily in the church, which belonged to the office of subdeacon. (Stat. Bp. Oldam, 1511.)

## SECONDARIES;

### OR CLERGY OF THE SECOND FORM:

No one was admitted into the choir wearing a habit, except the canons and vicars, or others attached by perpetual duty, unless he were of good fame and known conversation, a good singer and of competent learning; (the Secondaries were) to consist of the number of twelve, who were called Clerks, or Clergy of the Second Form; from amongst whom, if necessary, honest vicars might be created. Honourable persons, however, abiding in the company of the canons, were not refused to be introduced. (Stat. Bp. Bronescombe, 1275.)

The twelve secondaries were in deacon's, subdeacon's, and acolyth's orders. Priests were not to be secondaries. (Stat. ejusdem, 1276.) The annivelars and secondaries were to frequent the choir, and particularly were to be personally present at the saying of every commendation, placebo, and dirige in the choir; on pain, for the first offence, of the subtraction of his stipend; for the second, of amotion from his office. (Stat. Bp. Quivil, 1283.) They were prohibited from presuming to wear, like the canons, vicars, or annivelars, hoods doubled with any fine colour, linen or silk, or caps, on pain of perpetual expulsion. (Stat. 12th May, 1395.) They were excused from the choir service, whilst they were attending the grammar-schools and song schools. They had the accustomed fees for the installation and induction of the dignitaries and canons, which had originally belonged to the dean. No one could be admitted a secondary before the eighteenth year of his age. (Stat. Bp. Oldam, 1511.)

#### C U S T O R S.

Two sufficient principal clerks or clergymen were ordained Custors, having under them two inferiours, whose business it was to keep peace and silence in the church. (Stat. Bp. Bronescombe, 1275.) Of the custors and servants of the church, some habited in surplices and carrying rods in their hands, led, and others followed to guard, the procession; not suffering the people to stand in the way of the procession, until the Responsorium being fully sung in the station before the cross, the time came for preaching. In the more solemn processions, it was the business of the custors to strew carpets. They were under the immediate superintendence of the treasurer. (Stat. Bp. Quivil, 1280.) They were bound duly to toll the hours. (Stat. Bp. Brantyngham, 1387.) They were not permitted to sit within the choir in a habit unfit for their station, or unlike the others (*dispari habitu*), nor to lie out of their chambers anciently built for them within the church. They were to ring the accustomed peals at canonical hours, in due form: provided that, at matins and at vespers, on ordinary



days and festivals, with the government of the choir or without, only in the room of the three peals, they were daily to make sixty or more tinklings with the greater bell of the three lesser ones hanging in the south tower: and in like manner, on the principal feasts and doubles of the second and first class, after the third peal, they were to make the like tinklings; which being ended, there was to follow a complete peal with the other bells, to be rung in the accustomed manner; and the lights being lighted, divine service was immediately to be begun. They were prohibited from lending out of the church the vestments or any ornaments of the church, without a decree of the Chapter; which vestments and ornaments were to be kept in the vestry on perches; and an inventory of them and all the other goods of the church, of which the custody belonged to the treasurer, made and indented between the chapter and the treasurer. (Stat. Bp. Oldam, 1511.)

#### CHOIR BOYS.

Boys endowed with a sonorous voice, receiving their portion in the church, served in it day and night. Their number was never to exceed fourteen; unless needful for the church, or of such superiour condition that it was intended by their parents or the canons to admit them to procession and mass. They had the first tonsure. They were to be well instructed in morals and honest conversation; and were prohibited from running about the city in the habit of the choir. (Stat. Bp. Bronescombe, 1268.)

#### STEWARDS.

The Stewards were bound to provide, on each side of the choir, two Antiphonars,<sup>a</sup> four Graduals or Grails,<sup>b</sup> and as many Tro-

<sup>a</sup> Antiphonar. from *αντι*, *contra*, and *φωνη*, *sonus*. So called from the alternate repetition, by the two parts of the choir, of the Psalm; one part of it being sung by one part of the choir, the other by the other. It contained, not only the *Antiphonæ* as the word barely signifies, but also the invitatories, hymns, responses, verses, collects, chapters, and other things which belonged to the singing of the canonical hours, as well for matins, as prime, tierce, sext, nones, vespers, and compline. Bp. Lyndwood's Provinciale, fo. 251.

<sup>b</sup> Grail—*Gradale*; strictly taken, signifies that which was sung *gradatim* after the Epistle;

pars,<sup>a</sup> which were to be correct and consonant with each other. (Stat. Bp. Quivil, 1280.) The clerks of the Exchequer were prohibited from receiving any payments of the reeves or farmers, unless in the presence of the stewards, who were bound to certify before the Chapter every quarter, how much was distributed amongst the ministers of the church for all the obits. (Stat. Bp. Oldam, 1511.)

### GENERAL USAGES AND CEREMONIES.

The canons and other ministers of the church, in passing by the dean, were to bow to him; and to rise to him when he passed by. (Stat. Bp. Bronescombe, 1268.) They were to do due reverence to their seniors, on pain of standing before the crucifix without the choir, at all the canonical hours of one day and of the following night; and more, at the will of the dean and chapter, if the fault required it. Slanderers and sowers of discord in the church were to be immediately expelled by the dean, even without the privity of the bishop. No canon, vicar, or other person attached to the church, was to enter, pass through, or stay in the ambit of the choir, in a lay habit, from bell-tolling to the mass of the B. V. M. on pain of the loss of his then upper garment, to be converted to the use of the secondaries and the choir boys. (Stat. Bp. Bronescombe, 1275.) No vicar or other inferiour minister or clergyman, who, according to the custom of the church, was bound to officiate in the choir, could be admitted, whatever might be his knowlege or other endowments, unless he could play on a musical instrument and had a competent knowlege of singing; otherwise his admission was invalid, and power was vested

but it is also to be understood of the entire book in which were contained the office of the aspersion of holy water, the introits of mass or offices Kyrie, with the verses Gloria in Excelsis, Grails, Hallelujah, and Tracts, Sequences, the Creed to be sung in mass, the Offer-tories, Sanctus, Agnus, Communion, &c. which pertain to the choir in the singing of solemn mass. Ib.

<sup>a</sup> Tropar—contained the Sequences only; which were not in all Grails. Ib. The Sequences were devotions used after the Epistle, immediately before the Gospel.



in the bishop to substitute another fit person, as in the case of negligence. There was to be always a lamp burning before the cross. Before Bishop Quivil's time there used frequently to be, to the great scandal of the church, a want of bread for the celebration of mass: by a statute of his, he imposed a fine of forty shillings on those whose business it was to provide bread, who should again offend. (Stat. Bp. Quivil, 1280.) No canon or other clergyman was, by reason of his seniority, to take place of his superior in order, in reading, singing, sitting in chapter, or walking in procession; unless it were competent to him to do so, on account of his having some dignity in the church. The weekly deacon and subdeacon were to be present, properly habited when mass for the dead was said at the altar of the cross. The parish chaplains of the churches and chapels of the city were bound to be present in the processions which were made in the cathedral, on Sundays and solemn days; on pain of losing their portion on the anniversaries of the bishops or canons of the church. The canons, vicars, and other clergy might not wear amices of any other colour, externally, than black, which however might be lined with silk (sendato,) red, green, or any other colour than black. The canons were at liberty to wear doubled amices. The vicars were permitted to wear amices of grey fur, so as the exterior were black. No vicar or clergyman of inferior degree, in following his master, or otherwise going out of the choir, was suffered to run through the choir, but was to walk decently and modestly. No one who did not wear the habit of the choir was permitted to stand or tarry there, during the celebration of divine offices. Talking and conversation in the choir, and especially with persons on the outside, were prohibited. (Stat. Bp. Quivil, 1283.) The rectores, or superintendants of the choir, were to note and minute every week the absences and irregularities of the vicars, and report them, secretly, to the President of the Chapter or clerks of the Exchequer on the next Saturday, in order that they might be punished. (Stat. Bp. Stapeldon, 1315.) It was enjoined by Bishop Grandisson, that in singing Psalms in the

choir, all the canons and ministers should make a more uniform pause than had been usual, in the middle and at the end of the verses ; interposing a cessation of the voice : and, in the Antiphons, Hymns and Responses, should sing so uniformly and mutually hearing each other as to take care so to pause, that no one should be before or after another. (Stat. 1328.) Vicars and secondaries were not to absent themselves without licence of the Dean ; and then, only for causes more necessary to the church than to the person ; and not for more than eight or fifteen days at one time, nor more than a month at several times, in one year ; and not more than one at a time of the same degree or of the same part of the choir. No clerk or minister of the church was to be employed in attendance on the canons, to the hindrance of the service of the church : nor was any of them who had not assisted at matins on the preceding night, to be admitted to any canon's table the next day, unless hindered by sickness. Public banquetting and drinking in the church, and especially in the choir, were forbidden. (Stat. Bp. Grandisson, 1358.) No canon, vicar, or other minister was to presume to enter, or walk, or stay in the church or the ambit of the choir, or to go into the choir itself, whilst divine offices were saying, from bell-tolling to the mass of the B. V. M. unless in such a habit as was accustomed to be worn by those who assisted at divine offices. The vicars, annivelars, and other ministers of the church, were to meet at the church as often as the exequies for the dead, with masses for the benefactors of the church, were said and celebrated. No canon, vicar, annivelar, or secondary, was to run or wander without the choir, in the ambit thereof, or in the church itself, whilst divine service was performing in the choir, in their habit, or without it ; or to run about the city in the habit of the choir : the vicars and their inferiours to be punished by the Dean and Chapter ; the canons, by the Bishop. (Stat. Bp. Brantyngham, 1387.) Private masses at different altars were not to be said during high mass, lest the people should be withdrawn from the solemnity of the latter. Ministers of the church were forbidden to wear clogs on their feet in



the choir. (Stat. 12th May, 1395.) All the ministers in the church were to observe the use and mode of saying the canonical hours, according to the directory and ordinal of Sarum: provided that all the feasts, which by special ordinance were wont to be celebrated at certain times, and also the exequies of the dead, martyrologies, lections, as well de tempore as of the saints, and other ceremonies, were entirely kept by all the vicars, annivelars, and other ministers of the church, when and as often as they should be solemnly officiating within the same church. Vicars and annivelars were prohibited from celebrating masses, or attending the obits of the dead without the church, at the time of procession or high mass, or when there was a deficiency in the number of singers in the choir; and from auricular confession, or praying in a low voice, in small books, or in short prayers (*preculis*) within the choir, without just cause. No charters, muniments, monies or jewels, were to be deposited for custody within the church, by any strangers, without a decree of the Dean and Chapter. The porter of the close was to shut the gates and doors from Easter to Michaelmas, at nine o'clock; and from Michaelmas to Easter, at eight o'clock; and was not to open them, without reasonable cause, before the morning mass of Bratton. (Stat. Bp. Oldam, 1511.)

Such were the ancient Constitution and Customs of this Cathedral. When the Reformation was finally established in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the then Dean and Chapter finding that the revenues of the cathedral, in their reduced state, would no longer suffice for so many canons; Bishop William Alleigh, with their unanimous consent, and under the Royal authority, by a statute of 22d February, 1560, limited the number of canons residentiary to nine, of whom the dignitaries were to be four; and amongst these the revenues of the church were thenceforth to be shared.

In consequence of complaints made to Charles the First by the rest of the prebendaries, for so the non-residentiaries then were, as they still are styled, of the exility of their stipends, the King had deter-

mined to increase them; but his purpose was prevented by the breaking out of the civil war. But, on the restoration of Charles the Second. Bishop Seth Ward, with the like consent of the Dean and Chapter, and under the Royal authority, by a statute of 28th March, 1663, decreed, that the number of canons residentiary ought never to exceed nine; that the small stipends of the rest of the prebendaries should be extended to the sum of twenty pounds each annually; and defined and prescribed their future duties in the cathedral choir, consisting merely of the attendance of two of them at the time of the Assizes and Quarter Sessions of the Peace, and the weekly preaching of the Sunday afternoon Sermon or Divinity Lecture, on the penalty, for neglecting to preach the Sermon, of twenty shillings to be converted to the use of the Cathedral Library.

The episcopal powers and functions, whatever might be the peculiarities subsisting in different cathedrals amongst the inferiour members, being nearly, if not universally the same, little is wanting to be said on that head. But there are some circumstances affecting the episcopal office, as we find it in this diocese, perhaps worthy of remark; namely, the great numbers who received holy orders in ancient, compared with modern times: and, the diocesan bishops having their suffragans under them.

Frequently, upwards of eighty persons received holy orders at one ordination. In the episcopate of bishop Brantyngham, at an ordination celebrated in Tiverton church by William Courtenay, Bishop of Hereford, on the 8th June, 1370, there were ordained three hundred and seventy-four persons; of whom, one hundred and sixty-three received the first tonsure; one hundred and twenty were ordained Acolyths; thirty, Subdeacons; thirty-one, Deacons; and thirty, Priests. The ordinations were frequently celebrated, not by the diocesan, but by his suffragan bishop.

There occur the names of Suffragan Bishops, in this diocese, as follows:

Of Bishop *Brantyngham's*—Johannes Warre, episcopus Cume-



nagen', who held ordinations in 1378, 80, 85, and 86. Of Bishop *Stafford's*—Henricus, Eunachdurien' episcopus, who held an ordination in the church of Saint Mary major, in Exeter, 1395. Henricus Nouy, Ardakaden' episcopus, the like in 1397. Richardus, Caten' episcopus, the like in 1414. Joannes, Soltomen' episcopus, the like in 1402. Of Bishop *Lacy's*—Joannes, Ollen' episcopus, held an ordination in 1442. Jacobus, Akeden' episcopus, the like in 1450 and 52. Of Bishop *Nevyll's*—Rodericus, Alaten' episcopus, the like in 1456 and 57. Joannes, Tinen' episcopus, the like in 1462. Symon, Conneren' episcopus, the like in 1463, 64, and 65. Thomas, Cunachdonen' episcopus, the like in 1458 and 61. Of Bishop *Courtenay's*—Joannes, Ardakaden' episcopus, the like in 1478. Of Bishop *Fox's*—Thomas, Tinen' episcopus, the like in 1487, 88, 89, 90, and 91. Of Bishop *King's*—Augustinus, Beden' episcopus, the like in 1493. Thomas, Tinen' episcopus, the like in the same year. Of Bishop *Redmain's*—Thomas, Tynen' episcopus, the like in 1498, 99, and 1500. (Bishop Arundell held three ordinations by himself.) Of Bishop *Oldam's*—Thomas Cornish, Tinen' episcopus, the like in 1504. (He died 3d June, 1513, and was buried in Wells Cathedral, of which he was precentor, chancellor, and canon residentiary.) Thomas, Solubrien' episcopus, the like every year, from 1508 to 1518, both inclusive. Of Bishop *Veysy's*—Thomas Chard, Solubrien' episcopus, the like every year, from 1519 to 1534, both inclusive, except in 1529 and 1533. Thomas Vivyan, Megaren' episcopus, the like in 1521, 27, 28, 29, 30, and 31. And Willielmus, Hypponen' episcopus, the like from 1532 to 1543, both inclusive, except 1537, 39, and 41.

There is said to have been an immemorial custom in the city and diocese of Exeter, that all persons, men and women, being housekeepers or abiders within the same city and diocese, were bound each to pay, every year, to and for the use of the fabrick or building of the Cathedral Church of Saint Peter in Exon, one farthing. And it is said, that King Henry VIII. by his charter of 9th November, in the 30th year of his reign, after reciting such custom, and that it was

godly and commendable, confirmed it for ever; and empowered the messengers, or proctors, of the same cathedral to repair and go to all such persons, and to their parochial churches, for gathering the same farthings, and the same to ask, require, and levy for the use aforesaid. And that Queen Elizabeth, by an inspeximus charter of the 4th of March, in the 5th year of her reign, ratified and confirmed the former charter, to the then Dean and Chapter and their successors.

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**A P P E N D I X.**

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



AT  
A COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY  
OF  
ANTIQUARIES,

DECEMBER 15, 1776,

RESOLVED,

That such curious Communications as the Council shall not think proper to publish *entire*, be extracted from the Minutes of the Society, and formed into an Historical Memoir, to be annexed to each future Volume of the Archaeologia.









*Figures in Wood at Wooburn in Buckinghamshire, supposed to represent Itinerant Masons.*



## A P P E N D I X.

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February 10, 1814. William Alexander, Esq. F. S. A. exhibited to the Society a Drawing of two ancient Figures in wood, supposed to represent itinerant masons. (See Pl. XXVI.) They are at present fixed against a public-house opposite Wooburn Church, in Buckinghamshire, but are said to have been originally brought from the old manor house there, formerly a palace of the Bishops of Lincoln. The drawing was made in 1804. The figures are of the size of life. The younger of the persons represented holds in one hand a pair of compasses, and in the other a rule. The elder person has a quadrant in his right hand, and in his left a walking-staff.

February 24, 1814. Robert Bryer, Esq. F. S. A. communicated to the Society, in a letter addressed to Taylor Combe, Esq. Director, the following account of a discovery of a Burial Place and Antiquities near Dorchester.

“The site of this discovery was in a garden in the village of Fordington, about fifty yards east from the corner of the walk, called the Walls, on the east side of Dorchester (the Roman Durnovaria). From this garden William Bower, Esq. (the possessor) had occasion, in the summer of 1810, to remove a large quantity of earth, for the purpose of erecting some extensive buildings.

The space opened was about ninety-two feet in length from north-west to south-east, and forty-three feet wide; the greatest depth dug out was about

thirteen feet; but the land lying on a gradual ascent towards the north-west, this depth was not uniform through the whole extent.

In this excavation was observed, first, a light black earth for about two feet, next a brown marle with chalk of one foot, then entirely chalk. On throwing out the chalk, human skeletons were found in great numbers, certainly not less than a hundred, together with numerous urns of various forms and sizes; many fragments of urns, and of pateræ, were also discovered. Some of the urns were ornamented with indentations, like net-work; others with diagonal lines; some were surrounded with a wave-like ornament, others had clusters of lines, and those crossed again at intervals with similar lines. Some were of red earth, some of reddish brown earth, and others of black earth.

The bodies were found lying in different directions, at various depths, to nearly the depth opened. It was observed, that those bodies around which was brown chalk or earth (probably thrown in at the time of interment) fell to pieces and crumbled away on any endeavours to remove them; whereas those embedded in the chalk alone, were white and entire, but very light in weight: the teeth of those were remarkably good and white, mostly in complete sets, firmly fixed in the sockets, and not any of them carious.

About twenty urns were taken up and preserved by Mr. Bower (some of which he favoured me with, and are now in my possession) of different forms and sizes: but the report of the discovery of these relics soon caused great numbers of persons to assemble, whose curiosity and anxious expectations of finding articles of value, caused the destruction of many of these



vessels. The larger urns contained bones partially consumed by fire; one of these urns was about three parts filled with such bones, which were quite free from any mixture of charcoal or earth, and appeared in this (as well as in others) to have been carefully collected and deposited in the urn. This urn was covered with a patera or saucer of black earth, full of charcoal: the patera and urn are in complete preservation. The small urns did not in general contain any bones or ashes, and were generally found at the head of the unburnt skeleton, interred most likely after the practice of burning the bodies had ceased.

Many fragments of pateræ of black earth were found, and also of urns or vessels of a large size, having a very small mouth and handle.

A coin of Hadrian, of the middle or second brass size, was found lying on the breast of one of the bodies; it appeared to have been enveloped in linen, or some perishable substance, which quickly pulverized into a black powder on being touched: the sternum, on which it lay, is indelibly stained with a green tint; evidently the effect of the corrosion of the coin, which is not in a very good state of preservation: Obverse, HADRIANVS. AVGVSTVS. Head of Hadrian. Reverse, COS. III. a female standing: in the area S. C. Not any other coin was discovered.

A number of small iron knobs, like nail heads, were found; to whatever purposes these may have been applied, they could not form any part of coffin furniture, as not the least appearance of decayed wood was found with the bodies; these being in every instance closely embedded in the chalk without the remains of any intervening substance.

## APPENDIX.

Several bronze rings of an oval form, and of about two inches diameter, were also found; these rings were none of them perfectly closed, but had a small opening of about an eighth of an inch in each of them.

Every circumstance combines, I presume, to show that this was a burial-place used by the Romans; and the situation of it was by the side of the Via Iceniana, as laid down in the map of Stukeley's Itinerary.

Mr. Bower caused the remains of the bones to be collected together; they filled a very large butt, and were buried in an adjoining garden belonging to him."

March 3, 1814. The Rev. Robert Nixon, M. A. F. S. A. exhibited to the Society the original Matrix of a seal of the treasurer of the Monastery of St. Augustine, at Canterbury. The inscription reads, S. THESAURARIE. MON. SCI. AVGVSTINI. CANTVARIEN. *The Seal of the Treasury of the Monastery of St. Augustine, at Canterbury.*



In the upper compartment, the Prior is in the act of blessing; he has a mitre on his head, as presiding



over a monastery whose superior was entitled to wear one. The crozier which he holds is turned inward, the crook being towards him, to distinguish him from a bishop. Below are the arms of the Priory, the same as are now used by the deans of Canterbury. The large keys in saltire are allusive to the office of treasurer, as is also the letter T, which is placed in the centre of the arms. The two figures who stand on the handles of the keys, are two Monks, with musical scrolls in their hands, from which they appear to be chanting. An impression of this seal was attached to the deed of surrender of the monastery to King Henry VIII. The matrix of the above seal, which, at the time of its exhibition, belonged to James Gomme, Esq. has since been presented by that gentleman to the Society.

March 3, 1814. The Rev. Stephen Weston, B. D. F. S. A. exhibited to the Society an impression of an inedited Seal of the Hospital of Burton Lazars, in Leicestershire, with the following account of it.



The seal represents a Bishop with his crosier in his left-hand, and his right raised, with two fingers erect and two depressed.

The inscription is, SIGILLV̄ FRATERNITATIS SANCTI LAZARI IERLM. Ī. ANGLIA. *The seal of the Brotherhood of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem in England.*

Tanner tells us, that Roger de Mowbray, in the seventh year of King Stephen, gave two carucates of land, a house, a mill, &c. to the Lepers of St. Lazarus, without the walls of Hierusalem, and laid the foundation of a well-endowed Hospital, consisting of a master, and eight sound, as of several poor leprous brethren; which was the chief of all the Spittles, or Lazar houses in England, but dependent on the great house of Hierusalem. It was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and St. Lazarus: its possessions, in the 26th of Hen. VIII, were valued at 265*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.* per annum, according to Dugdale and Speed; and the house itself was granted to John Dudley, Lord Lisle, in the 36th of Henry VIII. Leland calls it, in his Itinerary, p. 205, a very fair hospital, and collegiate church.

Walter de Novo Castro was the first master of this hospital, and Robert de Danby the first with a date, 1308, in the first year of Edward the Second.

N. B. The matrix of this seal was lately dug up in Suffolk, and is in the possession of Edward Moor, Esq. March 31, 1814. William Bray, Esq. Treasurer, communicated to the Society, in a letter addressed to Samuel Lysons, Esq. Vice President, an account of the discovery of two urns about half a mile from Laleham, in Middlesex, on the Surrey side of the river. “The water had washed away part of the bank at a place called Laleham Burway, leaving a perpendicular face. In this bank, about three feet below the surface of the incumbent ground, a gentleman observed an urn partly projecting; he endeavoured to get it out, but in so



doing broke it; he however collected the fragments, and the whole of the contents, which were of a singular kind, consisting of broken plates of metal, chiefly a mixture of tin and copper, and apparently fragments of ancient armour, amongst which were the points of a sword and dagger, and several parts of a scabbard. The weight of the whole is near thirty pounds. The height of the urn is about nine inches, the breadth about eight and a half in the broadest part. Another vessel of the same kind of rough pottery, and containing fragments of a similar description, was probably buried with this, as after the parts of the broken vessel were restored, so as to make it complete, there still remained a portion of one which must have been much larger, and having rust of some kind adhering to its side. Near this spot, on the Surrey side of the river, is a small camp, not quite square, about eighty yards on the longest side. About half a mile from the camp on the other side of the river is Laleham."

June 23, 1814. Peter Prattinton, M. D. of Bewdley, in Worcestershire, exhibited to the Society an ancient Roll, belonging to Sir Thomas Winnington, Bart. of Stanford Court, in Worcestershire. It is entitled, "A Roll of the Expences of the Household of the venerable Father in Christ Richard Bishop of Hereford, made by the hand of John de Kemes, Chaplain, from Friday after the feast of St. Michael 1289, to the same feast in 1290." Dr. Prattinton accompanied this exhibition by the following account.

"The Roll was discovered by him a few months ago (in the course of his inquiries after Worcestershire documents) in the muniment room at Stanford, among the title deeds relating to Whitborne in Here-

fordshire, where the Bishop had a seat, and probably owes its preservation to its having been considered as a court roll of that place.

“ The Roll consists of several skins of parchment sewed together and written on both sides in a remarkably neat hand. Time has not impaired the writing, but unfortunately the last skin, which probably contained, besides two months expences, a general summing up of the whole, is wanting.

“ It is scarcely possible in this short account which has been hastily drawn up, to give any idea of the varied and curious matter contained in this Roll. One side containing the daily expences of the Bishop's table, descending to the minutiae of what remained after each day's consumption, the expences of his stables, and a general itinerary.

“ On the other side, the different articles are arranged under heads, such are—Summer and winter clothes, furs, spices, including sugar. Presents. Expences at the Court of Rome. Education of boys studying at Oxford, who appear to have been maintained at the Bishop's expence. Expences in Kent, of which county Richard de Swinefeld, the Bishop, was a native, and where he seems to have built and repaired the chapel of Wymeling-wode.

“ His itinerary, of which the following is a brief abstract, will give some idea of the contents, and certainly a favourable idea of the labour which this pious Bishop seems to have taken in personally surveying his extensive diocese; and though some of the places may not be exactly fixed, yet those Members of the Society who are acquainted with the country through which he travelled, will perceive that even in the improved state of the roads it would be attended with very considerable difficulty.



“ On the 30th of September 1289, the time at which the Roll commences, the Bishop was at Sugwas, one of his episcopal residences near Hereford, and here he continued till the 21st of October, when he removed to Bosebury, which was another of his seats. On the 17th of December he left Bosebury for Ledbury, where he stayed three days, during which time he had his wine and provisions from Bosebury. On the 20th he proceeded to Newent in Gloucestershire, where the Prior found hay and litter for his horses. Here we may remark, that the Bishop generally travelled with from thirty to fifty horses. At this place we have an entry of half a cart load of salt given to the Preceptor of Upleden. From Newent he went to Hyneham, and from thence to Prestbury where he had another residence, and where he kept his Christmas, as appears from an entry on one day of a boar, ten oxen, eight porkers, sixty fowl, thirteen fat deer, and nine hundred eggs. From this place he proceeded to London, to which place it should seem he had been summoned on some parliamentary business. (Quere if the statute of *Quia Emptores* passed in this session.) He travelled by Colne, St. Aylwin's, Farndon, Waneting, Rading, and Bedefonte. The roads about Waneting seem to have been bad, for there is an entry of a courtesy made to John de Wanetung, clerk, for conducting my Lord's carts. He stayed six days in London, where it should seem all the clothes and furs were purchased, and returned through Kensington, Arleye, Waneting, and Lechlode to Prestbury. He only travelled from London to Kensington the first day, and there is an entry of “ *In litera hominum & ad equos, 3s.*” At Prestbury he remained till the 23d of February, when he began his visitation by Led-

bury, Markeleye, Newent, Churchhome, Flaxley, Aure, Wolaston, Tyntarn, Newland, Ros, Monmouth, Monckton, Garewy, Kilpic, Dore, Sugwas. At all these places he was entertained by the Abbot, if there was one; or by some great man in the neighbourhood. This visitation finished on the 23d of March, and the Bishop remained quietly at Sugwas for a week, except that on Palm Sunday he dined with the Friar Minors of Hereford. At Lugwarden he stayed on the 24th, and the following day removed to Colwall, which was another of his residences, from which place he began his painful visitation of two months, returning to Sugwas on the 31st May. The places he visited, were Cradley, Bromyard, Herefordshire; Tenbury, Burford; (Lindridge and Aka in Worcestershire), Kinlet, Didlake, Chetinton, Morvill, Wenlock, Monslow, Stanton, Stokesay, Wistanstowe, Stone, Stretton, Pontesbury, Westbury, Abberbury, Charbury, Bishop's Castle, Clunbury, Wiggemore, Richard's Castle, Eye, Leominster, Pembridge, Old Radnor, Kinton, Almaley, Webbeley, and Wormel.

"After only a week's residence we find him employed in visiting the churches of Dorston and Bodenham. He proceeded on the 17th of June to Whitborne, the place at which this MS. was probably left, though the last entries on July 23d were made at Colwall.

"This very short account of the itinerary might, had time permitted it, been made interesting by numberless entries which occur relative to the persons who received, or were received by the Bishop."

Nov. 24, 1814. The Rev. J. J. Coneybeare exhibited to the Society, a copy of an early English work, entitled, "The Hundred Merry Tales." Printed in small folio, with-



out a date; 22 leaves, pp. 44. The following extract is taken from the communication which accompanied the exhibition of this work.

“ The name of Shakespeare has given such value to every thing, however trifling, which can tend to the explanation or illustration of his works, that I perhaps scarcely need apologize for submitting to the inspection of the Society of Antiquaries, a copy, which, though much mutilated, is, I believe, unique, of an early English work hitherto known only by his casual mention of its title “ *The Hundred Merry Tales*.”

“ From this jest-book Beatrice is accused by Benedick of purloining an article in which it certainly would not in our more refined times be thought to abound—her “ *good wit*.” No copy of the work in question having hitherto been discovered by collectors, it has been conjectured alternately, that the expression of Beatrice refers to some early translation of the Decamerone, the Cento Novelle Antiche, or the Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles.<sup>a</sup> There can now, however, I think, remain little doubt but the small volume transmitted herewith (which both corresponds in title with the supposed magazine of Beatrice’s wit, and is in fact a mere collection of short ludicrous anecdotes and repartees) is the very work alluded to by Shakespeare.

“ The Tales as far as I have examined them are mostly of English origin:<sup>b</sup> a few of them have descended, with some little modifications, to those

<sup>a</sup> See the note of Mr. Douce on the passage, *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, Vol. i. p. 165.

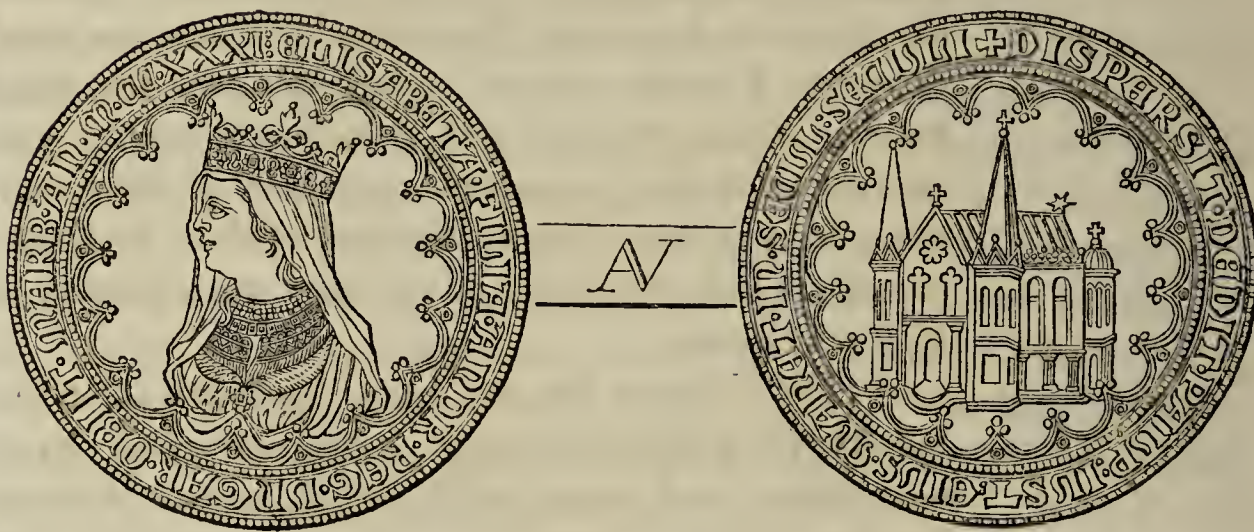
<sup>b</sup> I am not sufficiently acquainted with the earlier Latin *Facetiæ* to detect any obligations the Compiler may have had to Poggio, Bebelius, or other of that class.

cheap "*Merriments*" which most of us can probably recollect to have afforded amusement to our childish years.<sup>2</sup>

"It is not impossible that a more accurate examination might discover in the work, some further illustrations of our early literature and manners than that afforded by the title. At all events it is remarkable as being probably the first book of jests printed in our language."

Nov. 24, 1814. The Rev. Stephen Weston, B. D. F. S. A. communicated to the Society, in a letter addressed to the Earl of Aberdeen, President, an account of a large Gold Medal of Elizabeth, daughter of Andrew II. King of Hungary.

"The date of this Medal is 1231, but the workmanship appears to be of the 15th century. The Medal is of pure gold, is two inches in diameter, and weighs  $19\frac{1}{2}$  penny-weights.



"On the obverse is the head of Elizabeth in profile to the left, crowned and kerchiefed with a neck-

\* e. g. The story of the Welshman who mistook an ape for a gentleman. Of the scholar who proved by logick, that two fowls were three; and one relative to the wise men of Gotham.



lace superbly jewelled, and a rose of the same pendent. Round the head we read in Gothic letters, ELISABETHA. FILIA. ANDR. REG. UNGAR. OBIT. MARB. AN. M.CCXXXI. On the reverse is the Church of St. Elizabeth still extant, and round it DISPERSIT. DEDIT. PAUP. IUST. EIUS. MANET. IN. SECUL. SECULI. *Elizabeth, daughter of Andrew [II.] King of Hungary, died at Marburg in the year twelve hundred and thirty-one. She dispersed, and gave to the poor. Her justice remains for ages.* It appears by the chronicles of Hungary compiled by Abraham Bucholzer, Pastor of Friedstadt, in Silesia, in the sixteenth century, that Elizabeth here recorded had been married to Lewis, Landgrave of Hesse, “Thuringiæ et Hassiæ comiti;” that she was born in twelve hundred and seven, and lost her husband in twelve hundred and twenty-seven; that she was a Princess of singular piety, remarkably unfortunate, in being deprived of her mother by the sword, of her consort by sea-sickness during his voyage to the Holy Land with Ferdinand II, Emperor of Germany, and of her only son by poison at Rome, while she herself, accused of prodigality, and of having wasted the revenues of the kingdom in excessive charities, was driven from the regency by Henry Raspote, her husband’s brother, and exiled with a dowry of two thousand pounds of silver, with which she founded a church and a hospital at Marburg, and was canonised for her good works by Pope Gregory IX. at Perugia, in twelve hundred and thirty-five, four years after her decease. Fabricius, and Abraham Bucholzer, have written accounts of her life, and Theodoric of Thuringe has detailed the labours of her love for the sick and indigent; and in

the Chronological History of Hungary, p. 23. Francof. anno 1608, further particulars of this renowned and ill-fated Princess may be found. She was, it seems, also a writer of works of piety, and the *Revelacions* of St. Elizabeth have been printed by Caxton, who calls her the King's daughter of Hungary. A copy of this book of the Revelacions with the Lyf of Catherine of Senis, was in the valuable library of the late John Towneley, Esq."

N. B. This Medal is, as far as I have looked for it, unpublished. Van Mieris who engraved Palæologus had probably never seen it. See his *Nederlandsche Vorsten*, in 3 vols. folio; neither is it in the King of France's library.

Dec. 1, 1814. Samuel Lysons, Esq. V. P. S. A. exhibited to the Society an Impression from the Seal of John Earl of Huntingdon, Admiral of England, with which he had been favoured by Ebenezer Ludlow, Esq. of Bristol, Barrister at Law, in whose possession it is.





“This Seal was found on cleaning out a moat at the Manor House of Ken, in Somersetshire; the inscription runs thus: “ S. Johis comit’ Hūtygdon dñi de Ivory, &c. Admiralli Angl Hibñe & Acquitane.” The Earl of Huntingdon was appointed Admiral of England in the 14th year of King Henry the VIth, and was created Duke of Exeter in the 21st year of the same King, which fixes the date of this Seal to some time between those two periods.

“ It may be observed that the form of the ship on this Seal differs materially from that which appears on the seal of Thomas Duke of Exeter, a predecessor of the Earl of Huntingdon in the office of Admiral of England, as may be seen by a comparison of it with the engraving from the Duke of Exeter’s seal in the fourteenth volume of the *Archaeologia*. The sail is there charged with the Duke’s family arms, (those of Beaufort,) as in the present instance it is with the Earl of Huntingdon’s, those of the family of Holland.”

Feb. 9, 1815. Robert Thompson, Esq. of Long Stowe Hall, Caxton, Cambridgeshire, communicated to the Society, in a letter addressed to Nicholas Carlisle, Esq. Secretary, an account of the discovery of two ancient earthen Urns, in the parish of Bourne, near Caxton, in the south-west part of the above-mentioned county. “ They were found on digging for gravel in a small meadow-field, upon the estate of Earl de Lawarr, in the year 1813. These urns appeared to be Roman, but there is no trace of any Roman road or station in the neighbourhood. With the urns was discovered a segment of a plum-pudding stone, about ten inches in diameter, smooth on the surface,

with a circular hole in the centre; it was, probably, the nether-stone of a small grinding mill, the hole being adapted to the staple or pivot of the upper stone."

May 11, 1815. The Rev. Thomas Kerrich, M.A. F.S.A. exhibited to the Society, an Urn, [see Plate XXVII.] which had been found a few days before by some labourers who were employed to remove one of the Barrows upon Newmarket-heath, called the Beacon Hills. "It stood upon what probably was the surface of the earth before the tumulus was raised. The diameter of the barrow was near thirty yards, and the perpendicular height probably about eight or nine feet. There are more of these tumuli remaining, some of them very near to the place on which this, out of which the urn came, lately stood. They command an extensive view over the town of Cambridge, Gog-Magog Hills, &c."

Nov. 9, 1815. The Rev. Wm. Gibson, M.A. F.S.A. exhibited to the Society, Drawings of four burial Urns, lately dug up near the top of a natural elevation in the parish of Merkeshall, at the distance of two or three furlongs N. W. from the great Roman camp at Castor, near the city of Norwich. [See Plate XXVIII.]

"The dimensions of these urns are as follows:

No.	Depth.	Diameter of the mouth.		Largest circumference.	
	Inches.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	
1.....	6 $\frac{3}{4}$ .....	5 $\frac{1}{4}$ .....	2.....	3	
2.....	9 $\frac{1}{2}$ .....	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ .....	2.....	10	
3.....	6.....	6.....	2.....	2	
4.....	6.....	5.....	1.....	10	

"Nos. 2. and 3. are particularly elegant in form, and are in perfect preservation, but Nos. 1. and 4. are scarcely in a state to be emptied of their contents





*L. Kerrieh delin*

*Ja. B. Wir, v. d. p.*

*In Urn found under a Tumulus upon Newmarket Heath.*

About the end of March, or the beginning of April 1815





Fig. 1.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 4.







without great danger of breaking them in pieces. On emptying Nos. 2. and 3. they were found to contain calcined bones hard pressed down with earth, but without any coins, medals, or other metallic substances intermixed, though such are said to have been met with in some of the numerous urns which have been discovered here within the last few months. The substance of which these urns is composed is of a firm and glossy nature, apparently well dried, or burnt, and much resembling the modern black pottery of the Staffordshire manufacture.

“ I purposely forbear to enter into any detail respecting the camp at Castor; but I beg permission just to say, that humbly differing in opinion from Blomefield, the learned historian of the county of Norfolk, I incline in preference to that of the no less learned Camden, and others, who have held the camp at Castor to be the true “ *Venta Icenorum*.”

“ One of Mr. Blomefield’s arguments against the camp at Castor being the true “ *Venta Icenorum*,” namely, that no *burial-place* had been found (in his time) appropriated to it, is now wholly done away by the discovery of this extensive repository of Roman urns, which, in preparing a piece of ground for planting in the parish of Merkeshall, an estate belonging to John Dashwood, Esq. have been taken up in very great numbers, (many more, probably, still remaining undisturbed,) in the course of the last six months.”

Dec. 7. 1815.

Samuel Lysons, Esq. V. P. S. A. exhibited to the Society the Impression of a Seal of the Brethren of Mount Carmel, or Whitefriars, in Oxford, communicated to him by Mrs. Yeats of Skirvith Abbey, in Cumberland.



This Seal represents the King (Edward II.) presenting to a party of Friars, the manse of his manor near the north gate at Oxford, in pursuance of a vow, which he had made in the Scottish war,<sup>a</sup> to the Virgin Mary, their patroness, who is represented as standing by; under the figure appears an ox in a ford, the arms of the city. The inscription runs thus, "*S. Commune fratru' ordi's be' Marie de Carmelo Oxonie.*"

Also an Impression from a Seal of the Convent of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine of Balenrobe, in Ireland, having the device of a heart pierced with two arrows, and this inscription, "*Sigillum Conventus Ordi's Eremitt' S. Aug. Balenrob.*"

Dec. 7. 1815. Mr. Lysons at the same time communicated the fac-simile of an Inscription on both sides of part of a *Tabula honestæ missionis*, lately found with great quantities of Roman pottery, at Walcot, near Bath, in the possession of Mr. John Cranch.

He observed, that, from the form of the letters, nearly resembling those of the tablets found a year

<sup>a</sup> See Rot. Pat. 11 Edw. II. p. 1.









since at Malpas and Sydenham, now deposited in the British Museum, containing decrees of the Emperor Trajan, it is probable that this is the fragment of one containing a decree of the same Emperor, or of his successor. The formal part of the decree, of which enough remains to restore the whole, differs a little from those of Trajan above mentioned, and contains the words, "*dimissis honestâ missione*," which are there wanting. It appears to have run thus, after enumerating the several cohorts, &c. "*Qui sunt in Britannia Sub. C.... quinque & viginti pluribusve stipendiis emeritis, dimissis honesta missione; quorum nomina subscripta sunt, ipsis liberis posterisque eorum, civitatem dedit, et connubium cum uxoribus quas tunc habuissent cum est civitas iis data; aut si qui cælibes essent cum iis quas postea duxissent, dumtaxat singuli singulas.*"

Feb. 29, 1816. Samuel James Allen, Esq. exhibited to the Society, an ancient Grant, to which is appended, a Seal of Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford. [See Plate XXIX.] The following is an extract of a letter addressed, by Mr. Allen, to the Rev. R. Nixon, M. A. F. S. A. on the subject of the Seal.

"The Grant relates to lands in Monmouthshire, near Abergavenny, which are now of immense value, from the Iron Works of Messrs. Hill and Co. erected on them; though in 1491, they were leased at six shillings and four-pence per annum. The Seal is that of the Duke's chancery, for, being a Count Palatine, all his charters were sealed in the same manner as Royal Grants.

"It represents on one side the Duke's arms; viz. Quarterly France and England within a border of martlets, supported on the dexter side by a dragon, on

the sinister by a wolf; above the shield is a cap of estate.

“The arms of France and England must have been assigned to him by special concession, as he could have no title by blood to bear them.

“The legend is as follows: *Sigillum excellentissimi Principis Jasperis fratris et patrui regum.*

On the other side Duke Jasper is portrayed on horseback, in armour. The visor of his helmet is open, and above it is a dragon, the well-known cognizance of the Tudor family; he bears in his right hand a sword, in his left a shield charged with his armorial bearings, as before described. The face of the Seal on this side is covered with ears of wheat, and the legend round, *Ducis Bedfordie, comitis Pembrochie et domini de Bergevynny.*

This Jasper, surnamed de Hatfield, was the second son of Owen Tudor, by the Queen Dowager Catharine; and though his father was imprisoned, and some say executed, for his presumptuous match, the sons were soon advanced to the peerage, Jasper being created Earl of Pembroke, and Edmund Earl of Richmond, from whom sprung King Henry the Seventh. He was thus by means of his mother's marriage half-brother to Henry the Sixth, and the uncle of Henry the Seventh by blood. These titles of relationship he assumes both on the Seal and Grant, and indeed the exemplary manner in which he discharged the relative duties to both monarchs, doubly entitle him to those honourable distinctions. He was present at the first battle of Saint Alban's, which was the opening scene of the fatal contest between the two Roses; and after the victory of Wakefield, was detached by Queen



Margaret to impede the progress of the young Earl of March: but being misinformed as to the numbers of the enemy, sustained a defeat at Mortimer's Cross, with the loss of his brother Owen, and near four thousand men. He attended the Queen in her exile, and was one of the lords whose estates and titles were confiscated by Edward the Fourth. The earldom of Pembroke was conferred on Sir William Herbert, but it soon reverted to its rightful owner on his defeat and death at Banbury in the year 1463.

“ Jasper was present at the reconciliation of Queen Margaret to the Earl of Warwick, and on the success of the measures then concerted between them, shared largely of Warwick's favours. He also introduced his nephew to court, who had remained in concealment in Wales till the ninth year of his age, and had received a liberal education from Lady Herbert.

“ But the times were soon changed, and during a visit to his earldom of Pembroke, the battle of Barnet was fought, and Warwick slain. He then hastened to the Queen at Beaulieu, consoled her under her misfortunes, and departed to Wales in order to raise another army.

“ But his schemes were again thwarted: before he could bring up his forces, the battle of Tewkesbury took place, which ended in the assassination of King Henry and his son.

“ As the young Earl of Richmond was now sole heir of the Lancastrian line, various means were used to apprehend him, but his uncle effectually defeated them all, and at length succeeded in conveying his charge to Tenby, where they embarked for France. He attended the Earl of Richmond during his imprisonment at Vannes, shared in all his dangers, and

arrived with him in England when he gained the decisive victory of Bosworth. He was thus one of the very few nobles who survived the fatal civil wars; being about twenty years of age at their commencement, and living ten years after his nephew's accession to the throne.

“ During that time he was employed to quell the rebellion of Lord Lovel, and against the adherents of Lambert Simnel. He had been created Knight of the Garter by Henry the Sixth, and in the early part of this reign became Duke of Bedford and Lord Abergavenny. He also bore the high offices of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, High Steward and Earl Marshal of England, and Steward of the University of Oxford.

“ He died December 21st, 1495, and was buried at Keynsham Abbey, Gloucestershire. His wife was Catharine, daughter of Woodville, Earl Rivers; but he left no issue.”

February 29, 1816. Samuel Rush Meyrick, LL.D. F. S. A. exhibited to the Society the head of an ancient Crosier, which had been lately purchased by him in France. [See Plate XXX.]

March 7, 1816. The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Chester, F. S. A. presented to the Society two Drawings, “ exhibiting a view and plans of a very ancient Crypt, which adjoins the palace at Chester, and which formed a communication between it and the cloisters of the cathedral. [See Plate XXXI.] The Crypt was about three feet under ground, and filled up with earth and rubbish. The Bishop caused it to be cleared out, and has made a door into it at the place marked A. This building is undoubtedly of great antiquity, and has vestiges of very early architecture. It is generally ascribed to

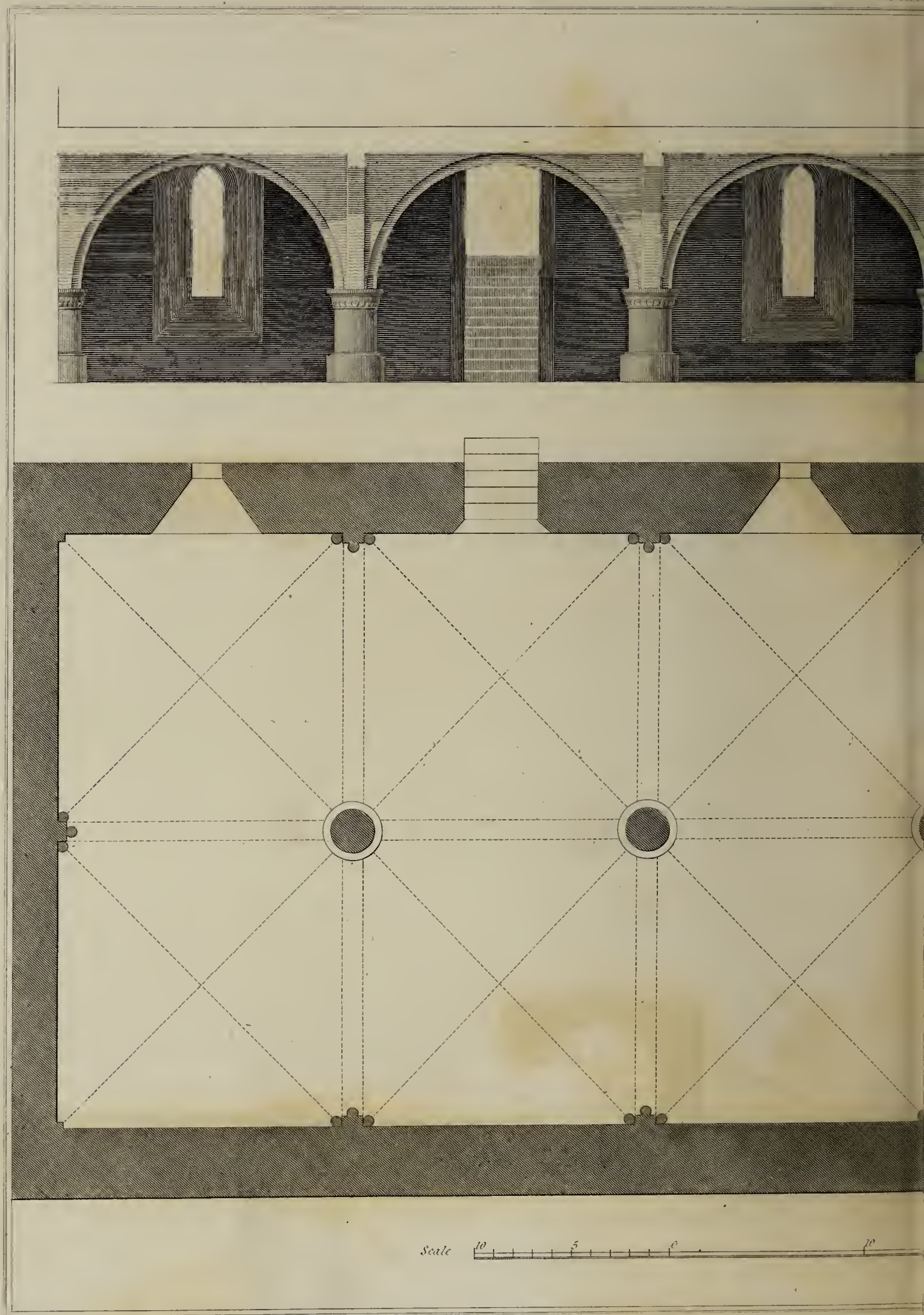






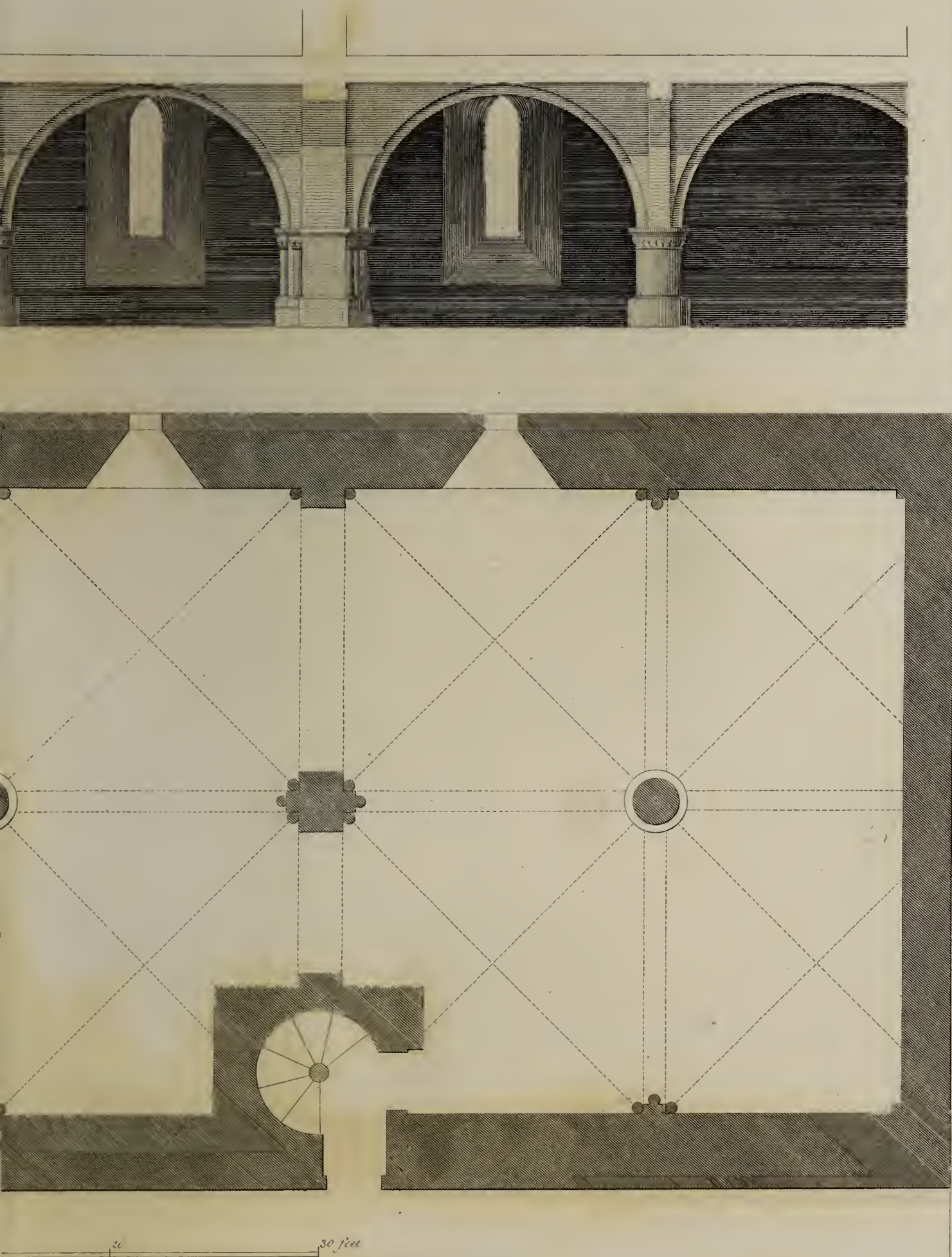






*Plan and Section of an ancient Crypt, upon which the Abbots Hall,*





J. Basire sculp

demolished, stood, adjoining the Cloisters of Chester Cathedral.





Earl Leofric, who repaired the church in the eleventh century."

March 28, 1816. Henry Joseph Monck Mason, Esq. Librarian of the King's Inn, Dublin, exhibited to the Society, by the hands of Mr. Ellis, a Manuscript enclosed in a case, partly of silver ornamented with crystal and coloured glass, in which it was found in 1790, in a cave in one of the mountains in the county of Tipperary, in Ireland, called "Devil's bit."

On one side of the case is an inscription in Lombardic characters, which preserves the names of the persons who gilded and restored the more ancient silver case, apparently some time in the latter part of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century.

The manuscript enclosed in it is a copy of the Latin Gospels, written in the ancient Irish character. The portraits of three of the Evangelists, and the symbol of the fourth, are prefixed to the respective gospels; from which, from the ornaments about the initial letters, from the character of the writing, and from general appearance, the manuscript may safely be pronounced of the tenth century.

March 28, 1816. Samuel Lysons, Esq. V. P. S. A. communicated to the Society, in a letter addressed to Taylor Combe, Esq. Director, an account of an earthen pipe dug up at Gloucester.<sup>a</sup>

"It was found in digging the foundation of a building in the East-gate Street at Gloucester, in the year 1808, at the same time with the Mosaic Pavement which was mentioned in a late communication to the Society.<sup>b</sup> I had not heard of the discovery of

<sup>a</sup> This pipe has since been presented by Mr. Lysons to the Trustees of the British Museum.

<sup>b</sup> See p. 123.

this pipe till lately, and have not been able to ascertain any of the circumstances attending it; either at what depth it was found, or whether it lay alone, or in a line with others of the same sort. There can be no doubt that it is Roman; and it is most probable, that it was part of a work for the subterraneous conveyance of water from the neighbouring hills to the Roman city of Glevum, in the same manner as the present city is supplied.

“The pipe is two feet one inch seven-eighths in length, and eight inches and a half in diameter; the aperture is not smoothly or very truly formed, but is about four inches and a half in diameter on an average. The pipe is scored all round with various ornaments formed by a toothed instrument before it was baked, for the purpose of making it adhere better to the cement, with which it was to be surrounded.

“Some pipes of a Roman water-course were discovered several years ago near Lincoln, which from the description of them in Mr. Gough’s Additions to Camden’s Britannia, appear to have resembled the Gloucester pipe, but they were not so long, having been only one foot ten inches in length: like this, they had no contrivance for inserting them into each other, but were joined by a ring or circular course of very strong cement, like the bed in which they were laid.

“Mr. Gough observes, that Count Caylus describes exactly such an aqueduct, which supplied Paris with water in the Roman times. The pipes were twenty-eight inches long, five and a half in diameter, and one inch thick.”

May 30, 1816. William Bray, Esq. Treasurer, exhibited an impression from a Seal of the Nunnery of St. Osyth; lately found by a labourer in a field near Colchester.





The seal belongs to Thomas Baskerville, Esq. F. S. A. Mr. Bray accompanied this exhibition with the following account of the seal, in a letter addressed to Henry Ellis, Esq. Secretary.

“The seal is of brass, and represents the foundress, the Lady Osythe, with her head in her hands, it having been cut off by Inguar and Hubba, when they spoiled the place. She was daughter of a king Fri-thuwald by a daughter of Penda, King of Mercia, and had made a vow of virginity, but was compelled by her father to marry Sighere, the Christian King of the East Angles; but the marriage was never consummated, for in the absence of her husband, she veiled her head, which he at last consented to, and gave her his village of *Chic* in Essex, near Colchester, where she began to found a church, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, and instituted a nunnery of Maturines, or of the order of the Holy Trinity. When her head had been cut off, she was buried before the door of her

church.<sup>a</sup> The Seal represents her standing before the door of her church, with the emblem of St. Peter, the key, before her, and of St. Paul, the sword, behind her. The legend round the seal is, S. ECCE. SCE. OSYTHE. DE. CHIC. AD. CAS.

June 13, 1816. Charles Stokes, Esq. F. S. A. exhibited to the Society two Bracelets of gold, which were found in turning up the ground in a field in the parish of Little Amwell, in Hertfordshire, which had been formerly a wood, and very lately cleared of the timber.

The weight of one of these bracelets is two ounces eight pennyweights three grains; of the other, two ounces two pennyweights twelve grains.

January 16, 1817. The Rev. Robert Nixon, M. A. F. S. A. exhibited to the Society an impression from the Seal of the Priory of White Carmelites at Hitchin, in Herts; and at the same time communicated the following Memoir, in a letter addressed to Nicholas Carlisle, Esq. Secretary.

“ Being lately on a visit to a friend at Hitchin, in Herts, I was introduced to William Wilshere, Esq. who, in a very obliging and polite manner, shewed me the Deed of Surrender of the Priory of the White Carmelites in that town, to King Henry the Eighth, with the seal attached to it; and also another instrument, being a commission to Sir George Coffin and another, from the said King, to take possession of that Priory into their hands in his name, to which also the seal of his arms were attached. Mr. Wilshere being also in possession of the matrix of the seal, was so kind as to favour me with an impression of it, for the inspection of the Society.

<sup>a</sup> Morant's Essex, Vol. I. p. 456.





“This Priory Seal is in a perfect state, and the inscription very legible. The figure of the Virgin is represented sitting, with her Son standing on her knee. On each side, under the arms, a figure is seen in a friar’s habit and in a kneeling posture. The arms on the dexter side are those of King Edward the Third; those on the sinister, of King Edward the Second.

The legend is,

*Sigillum Communitatis Fratrum Carmelitarum de Hyche.*

“It appears from Sir Henry Chauncey’s History of Hertfordshire, that this Priory at Hitchin was founded by John Blomvill, Adam Rouse, and John Cobham, and was dedicated to the Honour of our Saviour and the Blessed Virgin. King Edward the Second confirmed the endowments. These friars held their house until the 9th of May, in the 21st year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, when they surrendered it into the hands of the king. It was then valued at no more than four pounds nine shillings and four pence.

“The White Carmelites, as we are informed by Mr. Salmon, are sometimes called White Friars, from the white habit they were ordered to wear, and Carmelites, as they were followers of the retired life of Elisha the prophet, when he sojourned on Mount Carmel. They were of the Benedictine order.

“ After the suppression of this fraternity of the White Carmelites on the 22d of July, in the 38th year of King Henry VIII, the site of this house was granted by letters-patent to Edward Watson and Henry Henden in fee, who soon conveyed it to Ralph Radcliffe, Esq. son of Thomas Radcliffe, Esq. of Radcliffe Tower, who married Elizabeth, daughter of ——— Marshall, Esq. of the town of Hitchin. In his descendants this house continued, till the death of John Radcliffe, Esq. who represented the borough of St. Albans in three parliaments. He died in December 1783, having married Frances, daughter of Henry Howard, Earl of Carlisle, now since dead without issue. It then devolved to Penelope, his eldest sister, who was twice married, viz. to ——— Charlton, Esq. and Sir Charles Barnaby Radcliffe, Bart. of Kippington, near Seven Oaks, in Kent. She survived the last but a short time, and dying, also without issue, it became the property of her niece, Ann Milicent Clarke, married to Emelius Henry Delmè, Esq. who has assumed the name of Radcliffe, and is the present possessor.”

May 1, 1817. The Right Hon. Earl Grosvenor exhibited to the Society “ an ancient gold Torques, found in 1816 in breaking up a waste lately enclosed in the parish of Eskeiviog, Flintshire.

“ It lay at the depth of two feet under the surface, and immediately upon the solid limestone rock.

“ The spot where it was discovered is about a mile distant from the reputed situation of the palace of the last Prince of Wales (Llansannan).

“ It seems to differ but little from the Torques figured by Pennant in his Welsh Tour, only that it has four twists instead of three. Weight about twenty-five ounces.”



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IN THE

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